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Kaskaskia
Under the
French Regime

By
Natalia Maree Belting

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URBANA : 1948

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By
Natalia Maree Belting

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CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION	7
II. KASKASKIA BEGINNINGS	10
III. THE VILLAGE OF KASKASKIA	23
IV. LIFE IN THE VILLAGE	41
V. MAKING A LIVING	52
VI. SOCIAL LIFE AND CUSTOMS	68
APPENDIX:	
Extracts from the Parish Registers	79
Notes on the Census of 1752	86
BIBLIOGRAPHY	121
INDEX TO NAMES	127

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE STORY of the French in the Illinois country in the eighteenth century is an important and romantic chapter in the history of the United States. But so far, it hasn't been told. Alvord outlined the plot in his *Illinois Country*, and various volumes of the collections of the Illinois State Historical Library have documented certain special phases of it. This present study deals almost entirely with the social history of the six Illinois villages with particular attention being paid to the largest settlement.

The records for such a history are comparatively few and widely scattered. In the *Archives Nationales* at Paris, in the archives of Quebec, in the Cabildo archives of New Orleans, and in the Randolph County courthouse at Chester, Illinois, lie the documents which are the chief sources. But scattered throughout the country are other collections of a few pieces that one must consult before he can draw an accurate picture of the period. Probably the most valuable of these are the Vaudreuil manuscripts included in the Loudoun papers, owned by the Huntington Library.

Fortunately, photostats of most of the relevant documents from the French archives are in the Illinois Historical Survey of the University of Illinois; the records of the Superior Council are being calendared by the Louisiana Historical Society in each issue of its quarterly; many of the notarial files in Quebec have been calendared by Monsieur Roy, archivist of the province.

The chief material for the present study, however, is contained in the volumes of the Kaskaskia Manuscripts now in the office of the circuit clerk at Chester. Altogether they number 3002 documents, dating from about 1719 to 1780 and beyond. Some of the later ones have been published in the *Illinois Historical Collections*, but those antedating 1763 have never been printed. Carefully repaired and provided with large and substantial portfolios by the University of Illinois, they are in excellent condition, and though stained by water and time, few of them are illegible. They are arranged in volumes marked Private Papers, Public Papers, and Commercial Papers; however, since the sheets are loose and the pages unnumbered, there is considerable danger of mixing or actual loss. Some of the documents are already out of place, for in more than one case, records of the same transaction are scattered in three or four volumes.

The author spent a week in the fall of 1939 microfilming those documents bearing dates up to 1763 although on account of the shortness of

time, she was unable to copy all of the pertinent records in the folios of Commercial Papers after volume six. Many of these same documents have since been photographed by the National Park Service.

Kaskaskia itself, along with the villages of Fort de Chartres and St. Philippe, no longer exists. The last French commandant, Neyon de Villiers, left the Illinois country in June, 1764 with most of his troops and quite a few of the habitants, without awaiting the arrival of the British soldiers who were to take over the Illinois country under the treaty of peace. Louis St. Ange Bellerive was called from his post at Vincennes and left in command of the almost empty fort until October 10, 1765, when it was surrendered to Captain Thomas Stirling and his detachment of a hundred men of the Black Watch regiment. St. Ange left the British territory and with most of the wealthier habitants took up his home in the infant city of St. Louis, founded on the Spanish side of the Mississippi the previous year by Pierre Laclede.

The years of the British occupation and the early days of the American possession that followed were periods of anarchy. The lack of any authorized civil government left the inhabitants without any legal means of settling disputes and placed them at the mercy of men interested mainly in lining their own pockets.

In 1818 Kaskaskia became the first capital of the state of Illinois, but in the next year the seat of the government was moved eastward to Vandalia. Gradually the population of Kaskaskia diminished until it became only a quiet, lazy country village half-slumbering on the river banks. Year after year floods menaced it, cutting the Kaskaskia channel wider and deeper and inundating streets and cellars, while above the town the bottleneck of land separating the Mississippi from the Kaskaskia became narrower and narrower. Foreseeing the future, most of the few remaining families fled to higher ground on the Illinois side or took up new homes in Missouri. In 1881 the peninsula became an island; the town, not entirely destroyed, each spring lost a few more buildings as they toppled into the ever-widening Mississippi. The village site today is entirely gone; the tiny island is but a remnant of the old common fields south of Kaskaskia.

Little remains even of memories of old France in the American bottom. Kaskaskia is gone; present-day Kaskaskia keeps alive only the name. Fort de Chartres is now a state park, and the stone fort of 1752 is in the process of reconstruction. Renault's concession of St. Philippe was long ago wiped out by the river. But in Prairie du Rocher in recent years some of the old customs have been revived by descendants of the early creoles, and the cry of "La gui année" is heard again on New Year's Eve. In Cahokia, the state has rebuilt the old courthouse which was originally the home of the engineer, François Saucier, and which is

now perhaps the only example of French architecture remaining in Illinois. Ste. Genevieve, moved from its original site on the low river banks to the hills above, still resembles the old French community founded by Kaskaskia habitants near the middle of the eighteenth century, though there is not a house standing which has not been remodeled by a succession of Spanish, German, and American owners. In Old Mines, farther to the west, the lead mines are worked with primitive French methods, and men still tell the folk tales that were brought from France nearly two hundred years ago. With these few exceptions, river waters, British and American conquest, and the stream of German immigration into southern Illinois and Missouri have obliterated the French culture of old Kaskaskia.

CHAPTER II

KASKASKIA BEGINNINGS

MISSION, 1703-1718

IT WAS THE YEAR 1703. Anne was the new queen of England, Louis XIV the old king of France. Europe's soldiers had taken up arms again in the War of the Spanish Succession. A month's journey across the vast Atlantic, two colonial empires were growing side by side on the North American continent. The English trader and his French counterpart, the *courieur du bois*, pushing westward from the Alleghenies and southward from the St. Lawrence, each scheming for the control of the Indian fur trade, were laying the groundwork for the coming wilderness struggle for colonial supremacy.

New York had passed seventy-seven years; the city of Philadelphia only a score. Quebec lacked but five years of ending its first century. Biloxi, far to the southwest, had been founded by the young French explorer, Pierre le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, only four years before. The first days of New Orleans were years in the future.

So it was in Europe and the New World when on a spring day the Jesuit Father Marest, missionary to the Kaskaskia Indians, wrote at the top of his register "1703 Apr. 25, Ad ripam Metchigamiam dictam venimus."¹ It was really the Kaskaskia River, a narrow stream that flowed lazily south through broad Illinois prairies and emptied into the Mississippi a few miles below the new Indian village. The Illinois tribe from which it took its name had originally lived much farther north. Settled with the Frenchman's other allies, the Wea, Miami, Shawnee, and Piankashaw, near La Salle's Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River, they had left in the late fall of 1700 with their missionary for new campgrounds on the Des Pères River on the western side of the Mississippi opposite the Cahokia mission.² It was this spot that they deserted in the early winter of 1703 with the intention of moving twenty-five leagues south, about a day's journey from the tannery that had been established on the Ohio River.³ With the Kaskaskias were a number of French traders who had married into the tribe, and who, making their new homes on the river bank, became the founders of the French village of Kaskaskia.

¹ "We are come to the river called the Michigamea." *Régistre de la Paroisse de l'Immaculée Conception des Cascaskias.*

² For a discussion of the evidence which has established as true the tradition of a settlement of the Kaskaskia Indians on the Des Pères River, see Palm, *The Jesuit Missions of the Illinois Country*, 36-37.

³ Charles Juchereau de St. Denys, granted a concession of two leagues on both sides of the Ohio and six leagues in depth, set up a tannery in 1702 near the present site of Cairo, Illinois. The enterprise was given up two years later when an epidemic befell the post and killed the leader.

The bottom land between the two rivers was one of the most fertile strips in the whole of the Mississippi Valley. The French spoke of it as a "land of Treasures,"⁴ and "an earthly Paradise."⁵ It was certainly a botanist's paradise. In luxuriant forests that bordered the great river grew half a dozen varieties of oak which, with the walnut, white mulberry, cypress, red and white cedar, and cottonwood supplied the lumber for the carpenter. Besides the walnut there were groves of hickory, chestnut, and pecan; this last became the favorite of the French pioneer. The fruit trees — apple, pear, plum, peach, and cherry — were not so plentiful, and their fruit was small and sour, but they furnished the makings for preserves and liquors. The persimmon, nicknamed "paw-paw," bore a red and yellow fruit; from the Indians the habitant learned to use it as an astringent, as a cure for dysentery, and to make a bread from its pulp to carry on long trips. In the underbrush were dense berry thickets, and twisted through tree and bush were enormous grape vines whose purple fruit was almost inaccessible in the tops of the highest trees.

Grey limestone bluffs rising a hundred feet or more above the lowland bordered the east bank of the Kaskaskia; they wound away from the river north of the settlement to form a high ridge stretching as far north as Cahokia, the only other French village in the region. Between the forest and cliffs was a waving meadow dotted with tree-fringed lakes and ponds and crossed by dozens of slender streams.

In the early spring tiny primroses, pussytoes, and blue and white anemones were the first to peep forth on the prairie, while in the woodland blossomed the snowy wake-robin, the pink rue anemone, and the fragrant-bellied trailing arbutus. Warmer days brought clusters of lavender birdsfoot violets; sun-gold buttercups crowded meadow and hill, while marsh marigolds brightened the bogs with their gay hue. The forest was carpeted with fragile lady's-slippers and nodding spring beauties, with masses of blue phlox and vivid patches of scarlet and yellow columbines.

The pattern of the summer prairies was woven with the rose-purple vetch that clambered over low shrubs and bushes, the showy golden partridge pea, and the wild indigo in clumps of dark blue and cream. Bands of pink and white clovers and rose-colored clusters of wild bergamot were embroidered on snowy sheets of prairie daisies. Fiery red lilies and golden coreopsis were scattered here and there like brilliant splotches of paint. Late in the summer came the harbingers of autumn, the stately sunflowers and towering goldenrod, mingled with the blue and rose asters and the blue sage, which rivaled the sunflowers in height.

⁴ Memoir on Louisiana, Archives Nationales, Colonies, (hereafter abbreviated ANC) C13A 14:237v.

⁵ Du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II, 297.

Hidden away in the grasses were fringed gentians, blue lobelias and pink gerardias.

In field and forest, game was abundant. Ducks covered the ponds and streams in the fall. Egrets nested along the banks and brightly plumaged turkeys ranged the countryside. Flocks of smoky-blue passenger pigeons darkened the skies, eclipsing the sun in their flights. Branches where they roosted at night broke under their weight, and French hunters robbed the nests for fat squabs. Magnificent grey wolves and great herds of buffalo roamed the prairies, and deer, bears, foxes, and racoons abounded. Beaver was so plentiful that the skins were used for money.

Here in the midst of almost tropical luxuriance, the mission of the Kaskaskia was established in 1703. A few French traders and their wives settled down with the Jesuits, and then for fifteen years little news concerning the Illinois bottom filtered out to find its way into official correspondence. A report three years later stated that all the Canadians who were in the woods had withdrawn except for a few Frenchmen who had married at the Illinois,⁶ and the following year there was some talk of setting up a post there in order to furnish buffalo hides to Mobile.⁷ The fur trade was the chief concern of the habitants. The traders made trouble for the priests by inciting Indian forays in order to obtain slaves to sell to the English; in 1708, at the missionaries' request, Bienville, governor of Louisiana, sent Sieur d'Eraque with six men to Kaskaskia and Cahokia to restore order.⁸ Once again, in 1711, Father Marest asked for aid against the *courreurs du bois* who, he reported, were debauching the Indian women and preventing them from being converted. Twelve men under a sergeant were sent from the south, and from the pen of one of them, Penicaut, comes the first glimpse of life in the village.

There was a "very large church" at Kaskaskia, built by the habitants, with three chapels, a baptismal font, a steeple, and a bell. Early in the morning Indian catechumens assembled at the church for prayers and instruction. After the mass of the faithful, the missionary began his rounds among the sick, a physician as well as a priest. In the afternoon he held a catechism class; in the evening, savages and French attended vespers.⁹

Habitant and Indian worked their fields together. Maize and wheat, garden vegetables, and excellent French melons were raised. Tradition has it that wheat was not introduced into the region until 1718, when Zébedee, a Fleming from Breda and a *donné* of the Jesuits, made the first plow and sowed a bushel of the grain, reaping ninety bushels at the end of July.¹⁰ But in the spring of 1710, five settlers on land between the Mississippi and Lake Pouschartrain in lower Louisiana each planted an

⁶ *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, II, 28. ⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 59.

⁸ Palm, *Jesuit Missions*, 43. ⁹ Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, V, 491.

¹⁰ Bibliothèque Nationale Manuscripts français Nord Amérique, 2552:161.

"arpent¹¹ of wheat which came from the Illinois."¹² Flour made from Illinois wheat was sent to Isle Dauphiné in March, 1714.¹³ When Penicaut visited Kaskaskia, he saw three mills, a windmill built on the banks of the Little River (the Kaskaskia) and owned by the Jesuits, and two horse mills belonging to the Indians.¹⁴ Domestic cattle were brought to the region about 1712.

An epidemic in the summer of 1714 ravaged the countryside, striking down from two to three hundred persons, four or five dying every day. Among the victims was the priest. Father Gabriel Marest, who died September 15, after an eight days' illness. His requiem was sung by the French; the Indians covered his body with gifts of furs.¹⁵ Father Marest, a native of Laval, France, had entered the Jesuit order at nineteen years of age; shortly after his arrival in Canada in 1694, he had been appointed chaplain of an expedition to Hudson Bay. He had been captured by the English, taken to England, and allowed to go to France, whence he returned to Canada. In 1698 he had been appointed to the Illinois mission, had worked among the Kaskaskia while they lived at Peoria, and had accompanied them on their southern migration.

Another who died in the epidemic of that year was Jacques l'Argilier *dit* Le Castor. Born in France in 1634, he had come to Canada before 1664 in which year he became a lay brother in the Society of Jesus. He had been with Marquette during the winter that the latter spent at Chicago, and in 1690 he had taken the vows of a temporal coadjutor with permission to wear secular dress. He died at Kaskaskia on November 4.¹⁶

But in spite of disease, the French population at Kaskaskia continued to increase. There were said to be more than 700 persons in the Illinois country in 1722.¹⁷ A census by M. Diron d'Artaguette, inspector-general of the colony, made in June, 1723, found 64 habitants at Kaskaskia, 41 white laborers, 37 married women, and 54 children. At the new village of Fort de Chartres sixteen miles north there were 39 habitants, 42 white laborers, 28 married women, and 17 children. At Cahokia, the last settlement of the bottom land, there were 7 habitants, 1 white laborer, 1 married woman, and 3 children.¹⁸ In 1721 at Kaskaskia there were 80 houses¹⁹ and 4 mills.

One of the first settlers was Michael Accault, or Aco, as it came to be spelled. A typical *courreur du bois*, and adept at Indian languages, he came down to Illinois with La Salle in 1679. Rouensa, chief of the Kaskaskia, offered his daughter, Marie, to Aco for a wife. Aco accepted, but

¹¹ An arpente equals about 12 rods in length. A Canadian arpente is about .85 of an acre.

¹² *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 147.

¹³ Palm, "The First Illinois Wheat," *Mid-America*, XIII, 72-73.

¹⁴ Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, V, 491. ¹⁵ Palm, *Jesuit Missions*, 45.

¹⁶ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXVI, 340.

¹⁷ ANC C13A 8:226, 226v.

¹⁸ ANC C13A 6:362v.

¹⁹ Archives du Service Hydrographic (hereafter abbreviated ASH), 115-10, no. 29.

seventeen-year-old Marie had other plans. Father Jacques Gravier, in his journal of the mission dated February 15, 1694, told her story:

Many struggles were needed before she could be induced to consent to the marriage, for she had resolved never to marry, in order that she might belong wholly to Jesus Christ. She answered her father and mother, when they brought her to me in company with the Frenchman whom they wished to have for a son-in-law, that she did not wish to marry; that she had already given all her heart to God, and did not wish to share it. Such were her very words, which had never yet been heard in this barbarism.

Rouensa stormed at her defiance. Marie was driven naked from the cabin and threatened with greater punishment. Finally she went to the priest:

"... I have an idea—I know not whether it is a good one. I think that, if I consent to the marriage, he [Rouensa] will listen to you in earnest, and will induce all to do so. I wish to please God, and for that reason I intend to be always as I am in order to please Jesus Christ alone. But I thought of consenting against my inclination to the marriage, through love for him. Is that right?" These are all her own words and I merely translate her Illinois into French.

So the couple were married by Father Gravier at Pimitoui and The first conquest she made for God was to win her husband, who was famous in this Illinois country for all his debaucheries. He is now quite changed, and he has admitted to me that he no longer recognizes himself, and can attribute his conversion solely to his wife's prayers and exhortations, and to the example that she gives him. . . . To make him expiate his past offenses, God permitted that he should displease some persons who have stirred up ugly transactions of his, and have made him odious to every one. His wife is all his consolation, through what she says to him. "What matters it, if all the world be against us?" she says. "If we love God, and he loves us, it is an advantage to us to atone during our lives for the evil that we have done on earth, so that God may have mercy on us after we die."²⁰

Their son, Pierre, was born while the mission was still at Pimitoui, in March, 1695.²¹ Michael, the second son, was baptized February 22, 1702,²² apparently at the mission on the Des Pères River. One of the boys, probably Pierre, was sent to Canada by the Jesuits to be educated. Michael, while still a youth, returned to live in the wilderness with his mother's tribe; in her will, made just before her death on June 25, 1725, Marie disinherited him unless he should come back to live again among the French.²³

Not long after Michael Aco and Marie Rouensa settled on the banks of the Kaskaskia River, Aco died. His widow married Michael Philippe, later captain of the militia and one of the principal citizens of the town, but then only another trader. Their first-born, Jacques, baptized in 1704,²⁴ and their other five children married into several families, so that in later days not a few of the habitants traced their lineage to the daughter of the chief of the Kaskaskia. Marie continued throughout her life to help the

²⁰ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXIV, 193-215.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Kaskaskia Manuscripts, Public Records, II, June 13, 1725.

²⁴ *Régistre de la Paroisse.*

²¹ *Régistre de la Paroisse.*

Jesuits in their work, and when she died she was buried beneath her pew in the parish church, the only woman in Kaskaskia's history to be so honored.

Jacques Bourdon, who was baptized at Boucherville, in Canada, February 18, 1680,²⁵ and who was living in Kaskaskia as early as July 26, 1704,²⁶ was another of the pioneer Frenchmen with an Indian wife.²⁷ He was the father of eight children, six of whom were girls and minors at his death June 27, 1723.²⁸ He was captain, perhaps the first, of the town militia, and he acted as royal notary.²⁹ He was buried under his bench in the parish church,³⁰ an evidence of his importance, but D'Artaguette, who was in Kaskaskia in 1722, didn't have a very high opinion of Bourdon's ability. In his journal, D'Artaguette set down how Bourdon had led a detachment of 40 French and 400 Illinois to Pimitoui, and how the soldiers had returned in a few days in a pitiable condition from hunger and bad leadership. "Bourdon," he wrote, ". . . is not fit for this sort of employment and is more skillful at goading oxen in the ploughing than in leading a troop of warriors."³¹

Louis Delaunais,³² Jean Colon Laviolette,³³ Bizaillon,³⁴ Pierre Chabot,³⁵ Nicolas Migneret³⁶ and Pierre Boisjoly Fafart³⁷ are all names which ap-

²⁵ Tanguay, *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes*, II, 416. ²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ In fact, he apparently had at least two, but there is considerable confusion regarding them. In his will of June 23, 1723, he names Marguerite "8ass..8e8c" as his wife. (The figure "8" was used by the French priests to indicate a sound in the Indian language, sometimes translated as "ou.") Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, II. However, in a document dated July 11, 1723, Pierre Baillargeon, son of Marie, Bourdon's wife, by her first marriage, renounces all rights in the succession of the estate of his stepfather, Jacques Bourdon. *Ibid.* To further complicate matters, the parish register in an entry dated April 17, 1701, records the baptism of Pierre, son of Antoine Baillargeon and Domitilla Che8ping8a.

²⁸ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, I. ²⁹ *Ibid.* ³⁰ *Régistre de la Paroisse.*

³¹ Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies*, 28.

³² Baptized in Canada in 1650. Tanguay, III, 297. His wife was Marie Catherine R8ecanga. July 25, 1692, their son, recently born, was baptized Jean Jaques; his godfather was Jean Laviolette. Another son, Charles, born May 28, 1698, was baptized the next day. *Régistre de la Paroisse.*

³³ His wife was Catherine Exipakin8ca. Michael, their son, recently born, was baptized October 4, 1692. Jacques, born May 12, 1697, was baptized the following day by Father Bineau, and Henri, one month old, was baptized by M. de Montigny November 27, 1698, with Tonti as godfather. *Ibid.*

³⁴ Marie Thérèse was the wife of Bizaillon. Marie, their daughter, was born and baptized September 22, 1699; Antoine Baillargeon was her godfather. Pierre was baptized by Father Gravier April 13, 1703. His sponsors were Pierre Champagne and Elizabeth. *Ibid.*

³⁵ Symphorose Mer8tap8e8c was his wife, and the mother of Pierre, born November 15, 1709, and baptized the next day. Étienne Campo and Catherine Forestier were his godparents. *Ibid.* Chabot's second wife was Dorothée Mercier. He died August 7, 1721, at Kaskaskia at the age of sixty years and was buried in the parish cemetery. Pierre Chabot, the husband of Renée Mercier, and father of Pierre, born February 15, 1721, and baptized the next day, with Pierre d'Artaguette and Perrine Pivot his godparents, was probably the son of Pierre I. *Ibid.* In 1739 Pierre Chabot was a journeyman of Illinois. *La. Hist. Quart.*, VII, 361.

³⁶ Also spelled "Milleret." His wife was Suzanne Kerami, evidently also an Indian. Marianne, aged one year and six months, was baptized January 26, 1713. Pierre, four days old, was baptized October 18, 1713. *Régistre de la Paroisse.* Marianne was the wife of Jean Baptiste Texier dit Lavigne, guardian of her brother, Pierre, at the time of the death of Suzanne Kerami October 28, 1747. Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, V.

³⁷ The brother, probably, of Joseph Fafart dit La Fresnaye, engaged by La Forest to go to Fort St. Louis, May 5, 1690. Pease and Werner, *French Foundations*, 195. His daughter, Marianne, baptized in 1711, married first Nicolas Cadrin, January 11, 1724, and on May 4, 1728, Jean François Becquet. Cadrin died November 10, 1727. *Régistre de la Paroisse.*

pear in the parish registers of the first twenty years of the village's existence. Most of them had Indian wives or children by Indian women who were baptized in the time of the Mission of the Immaculate Conception.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT

Until 1718 the Illinois country was considered to be a part of Canada — when it was considered at all. Six years previously Antoine Crozat, wealthy French merchant, persuaded by Lamothe Cadillac that the lower Mississippi Valley abounded in riches, had applied for and received from the king a monopoly of all trade in Louisiana except that in beavers. The charter was to last fifteen years; but in 1717, tired of a bargain which had brought him only great expense without any commensurate returns, he agreed to give up his trading privileges to the newly formed Company of the West.

The new charter, valid for twenty-five years, beginning January 1, 1718, gave to John Law and his associates a complete monopoly of all the trade, including that in beavers. It allowed the Company to import merchandise into the colony free of duty and lowered the rates on all goods exported by them to France. Ownership of all the mines to be discovered was vested in the Company; the appointment of all colonial officials, the erection and maintenance of forts and posts, and the right to regulate commerce and Indian relations were part of the terms of the grant. The company was obligated to recognize the *coutume de Paris* as the law of Louisiana, and to send to the country 6,000 white habitants and 3,000 negroes.

The Illinois had not been included in Crozat's grant, but in this new one, by an ordinance drawn September 27, 1717, it was formally annexed to Louisiana.³⁸ Regulations for governing the colony, submitted by the Company for the king's approval September 5, 1721, provided for the division of the country into military districts — New Orleans, New Biloxi, Mobile, Alibamous, Natchez, Yazou, Natchitoches, and Illinois. The land of the Illinois lay between the Wabash River on the east and the Mississippi on the west, extending north as far as the mouth of the Missouri, and south to the Ohio.³⁹

Orders dated Paris, August 11 and 26, 1718, provided for the civil government of the new province of Illinois. A council, composed of the commandant, the chief clerk, the keeper of the storehouse or *garde magasin*, and underclerk, the engineer, the captain of the troops garrisoning the post, the lieutenant, and two second lieutenants, was to be the principal administrative and judicial body. Any instructions of the Company concerning work on the Missouri lead mines which were to be opened were to be executed by the deliberations of a smaller group made up of

³⁸ ANC B39:457.

³⁹ ANC B43:28.

the commandant, the chief clerk, the clerk in charge of the mines, and the engineer. In the case of a tie vote the commandant's voice was to count for two. The advice of each member of the council in all matters was to be kept word for word in a special register, and a separate record kept of the expenses of the mines.⁴⁰

By a later edict on May 12, 1722, it was decreed that the provincial council established at the principal settlement of the Illinois was to exercise justice in all criminal and civil cases, with the right of appeal to the Superior Council at New Orleans. Its jurisdiction was to extend from the posts on the Wabash to those on the Arkansas.⁴¹

When the retrocession of Louisiana to the Crown occurred in 1731 and the Company of the West, by then called the Company of the Indies, was replaced by royal ministers, the framework of the government continued much the same. But the judicial duties of the provincial council, which had apparently functioned only irregularly after 1726, were given over in 1734 to a new official, the *écrivain principal*, who acted as delegate of the *ordonnateur* of Louisiana and judged all disputes between the habitants.

The first convoy ascending the Mississippi to the Illinois country in the summer of 1718 carried the new officials of the province. Pierre Duqué, Sieur de Boisbriant, a Canadian forty-seven years old, who had come to Louisiana in 1700 with his cousin, Iberville, went to succeed Des Liettes who had been in command of the country since 1704.⁴² Marc Antoine de La Loëre Des Ursins, a director of the Company, who was to be chief clerk, and Nicolas Michael Chassin, the *garde magasin*, accompanied him, along with the Sieur Simon, an underclerk, Sieur Mean, the *engineer machiniste* for the mines, Captain Diron, Lieutenant d'Artaguiette, Second Lieutenants du Merbion and Pigniol, the Sieur Ferrarois, and a company of a hundred soldiers.⁴³

These new officials, by the command of the Company, were to have one chief concern — to get for their employers the largest possible profits from the mines and the fur trade; at the same time, by promoting agriculture, they were to establish the region as the granary of Louisiana, thus reducing the expense of maintaining that colony. The commandant was charged with keeping peace between the Indians and the French in order to promote the fur trade; he was to encourage Indian attacks on tribes too friendly with the English; he was to keep the habitants and traders in line. Each year he was to make a visit to all the settlements within his district, and take a census, noting ages and sexes, French and

⁴⁰ ANC B42bis:230-232. ⁴¹ ANC B43:103.

⁴² According to Mrs. Surrey's *Calendar*, the commandants at Illinois during the French period were:

1682	Tonti	1724	Du Tisné	1740	Benoist de Ste. Claire
1683	De Baugy	1725	Des Liettes	1742	De Bertere
1700	De La Forest	1729	Du Tisné	1749	Benoist de Ste. Claire
1702	Tonti	1730	Groston de St. Ange	1750	Macarty
1704	Des Liettes	1732	Pierre d'Artaguiette	1760	Neyon de Villiers
1718	Boisbriant	1737	Alphonse la Buissonniere	1764	De Bellerive de St. Ange

⁴³ ANC B42bis:230-232.

whites, slaves, Indians and negroes, the amount of land cleared, its value, and the occupation of each habitant. He was to investigate the number of men capable of bearing arms in each village, determine the quantity of powder and lead on hand, see that companies of militia were formed, and arrange for some signal system from settlement to settlement by fires, bells, or cannon in order that the militia could march in an emergency.⁴⁴

The *garde magazin* was in charge of the merchandise sent to Illinois for provisioning the troops and supplying the habitants. He bought furs and farm products from the settlers, paying them by notes drawn on the goods of the storehouse, and was, therefore, in charge of a considerable business. The first storehouse was within the fort which Boisbriant soon built sixteen miles up the river from Kaskaskia; when the population increased, a store was also kept at Kaskaskia, and another was maintained by Renault on his concession at St. Philippe.

From their arrival at Kaskaskia until Boisbriant had erected the first fort, which he named Fort de Chartres, the officers and troops were lodged with the habitants of the village. After the completion of the fort in 1721,⁴⁵ the center of government moved there and the village of the Prairie of Fort de Chartres grew up.

Six years later Mississippi flood waters had entirely destroyed the fort⁴⁶ which had been only a small one made of posts, in the shape of a square, and with two bastions. The Company of the Indies, by that time extremely tired of all the expense of the Illinois post which up to then had brought in no appreciable profits, ordered the abandonment of the fort. Charles Henri des Liettes, then in command, was ordered to remove to Kaskaskia, there to take up his lodgings and fortify himself at his own expense from the increase in salary granted him. Only six soldiers were to remain in the country with him besides the two officers, the Sieurs de St. Ange, father and son.⁴⁷

The governor of Louisiana, Perier, thought such orders unwise, however, on account of the continuous war being waged with the Fox Indians, and the fort was not abandoned.⁴⁸ The offer of the habitants to transfer the fort out on the prairie and to furnish all the stone needed in return for two negroes each was refused by the short-sighted directors of the Company.⁴⁹ What was left of the old fort was rebuilt and two bastions added. But by 1732 the logs were all rotten and it was already falling into ruin.⁵⁰ Floods each year cut the banks in closer and closer to the founda-

⁴⁴ ANC B 43:29. ⁴⁵ ASII 115-10, no. 29. ⁴⁶ ANC C 13A 11:89v.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 89-92. ⁴⁹ ANC C 13A 11:48v.

⁵⁰ ANC C 13B 1:8. The fort, which in the inventory taken June 1, 1732, was described as falling to pieces, was 160 feet square with four bastions in which there were five cannons. On each of two scaffolds was hung a bell. Inside the palisade was the house of the commandant and *garde magazin*, a frame building 50' by 30'. Another building of the same size housed the garrison and the armorer's forge; there was a third house of posts in the ground, 30' by 20'. In one of the bastions was the prison, in one the hen house, and in another, a stable. Outside the palisade was the chapel, a structure of posts in the ground, 30' by 20', with thatched roof, steeple, and bell.

tions. By 1747 the garrison, unable properly to defend the countryside from Indian attacks, was forced to evacuate the fort and move to Kaskaskia. A stone fort farther inland was begun by the commandant, Macarty, in 1753 and finished in 1756 at the cost of five million livres.

Nicolas Michael Chassin, who came to Illinois as *garde magazin* with Boisbriant, received a grant of 17 arpents fronting the Mississippi south of Fort de Chartres on June 25, 1722.⁵¹ Very likely he built a house near the commandant's in the village of the fort; at any rate, his situation improved quickly enough that he soon was looking for a wife. In a letter to Father Bobé, a priest of Paris, on July 1, 1722, he wrote:

You see, Sir, that the only thing that I now lack in order to make a strong establishment in Louisiana is a certain article of furniture that one often repents having got and which I shall do without like the others until as I have already had the honor of informing you the Company sends us girls who have at least some appearance of virtue. If by chance there should be some girl with whom you are acquainted who would be willing to make this long journey for love of me, I should be very much obliged to her and I should certainly do my best to give her evidence of my gratitude for it. I think that if my sister had come she would have looked after me as much as I had looked after her, but I am beginning to fear that my hopes may have gone up in smoke.⁵²

But in that same year he married Agnes Philippe, daughter of Michael Philippe and Marie Rouensa, and was the father of Charlotte and Madeleine, who married Jean Baptiste Mallet in 1741. In November, 1725, he was recalled by the Company for "bad conduct."⁵³ He arrived in New Orleans early in June, 1729, and set to work on his accounts, which the governor predicted would take a long time since he had failed to keep any ledgers.⁵⁴ There seems to be no record of his return to Illinois, but he died before July 6, 1737, for on that date his widow entered into a marriage contract with the surgeon, René Roy.⁵⁵

Chassin's successor was Joseph Buchet, who in 1733 was receiving a salary of 600 livres a year.⁵⁶ By 1752 he had become chief clerk with a salary of 1,000 livres.⁵⁷ In 1759, then *écrivain principal* and judge, he begged the governor to allow him to retire on account of his great age and infirmities.⁵⁸ His successors were Jean Chevalier, who died in 1759,⁵⁹ and Antoine Simon d'Aunerville, who was serving in 1762.⁶⁰

De la Loëre des Ursins, the principal clerk, heartily sick of his job in the remote post by 1724, sent word back with Boisbriant, who had been

⁵¹ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, map opposite 182.

⁵² *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, II, 279.

⁵³ ANC B43:555.

⁵⁴ *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, II, 623.

⁵⁵ Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, II.

⁵⁶ ANC C13A 17:114v.

⁵⁷ ANC C13A 36:341-348v.

⁵⁸ ANC C13A 41:315. In 1734 Buchet was granted a tract of land, supposedly on the lower end of Prairie du Rocher common, by St. Thérèse Langlois, relative of Boisbriant. Buchet married Marie Françoise la Brise, widow of Jean Baptiste Potier; she died by 1740; his daughter, Thérèse, died October 26, 1743, at Fort de Chartres, aged five and a half years. Alexandre, his son, was baptized there October 22, 1744. A son, Joseph, aged 7 or 8 years, died October 28, 1748. On January 7, 1748, already *écrivain principal*, he married Marie Louise Michael, daughter of Jacques Michael, after the publication of but one ban. *Régistre de la Paroisse*.

⁵⁹ ANC C13A 41:315v.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, and Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, III.

called to New Orleans to act as temporary governor in place of Bienville, that he wished permission to return to France. The Superior Council allowed him to come down from Illinois but sent him as clerk to the Natchez post, where he was killed in the massacre of Fort Rosalie, November 28, 1729. His younger brother, De la Loëre Flaucourt, appointed as judge of Illinois, left New Orleans in the July convoy of 1734. The governor in a letter on September 24, 1741, remarked that De la Loëre Flaucourt, still at Illinois, had already suffered three attacks of apoplexy.⁶¹ On December 10, 1746, he died suddenly at Fort de Chartres without having had time to take the last sacrament. He was buried under his bench in the parish church of Ste. Anne.⁶²

The notary, one of the most important of the local officials, was appointed by the provincial council, the commandant, or the judge. His salary came from his fees, which amounted usually to one or two francs. Without his signature affixed to the bills of sale, the marriage contracts, the leases, the inventories, and the agreements of partnership, the documents were invalid. As clerk of the court he had to keep four separate registers, as clerk of registration, two, and as clerk of the marine, seven.

Jean Baptiste Bertlor *dit* Barrois, who was living in Kaskaskia at least as early as July 14, 1732, when his son, Louis, was baptized,⁶³ was acting as notary on April 2, 1737.⁶⁴ How long before then he had been notary is not known. He died in March, 1757.⁶⁵ Of all the notaries, he was the most prominent, evidently the best educated and certainly the best trained in the notarial art. He drew his instruments carefully with due attention to all the legal forms and in an excellent script. Leonard Billeron, a habitant who was notary at Kaskaskia in the 1730's—at the same time as Barrois—also wrote quite legibly, but his spelling was entirely by ear. *Mère* was to him *maire*; *père* was *peire*; *sept* was *cept*. But at that Billeron's records are far easier to read than those of Jerome, the notary at Fort de Chartres from 1733 to 1737 and perhaps for longer.⁶⁶ Jerome was no penman, and his cramped writing is many times indecipherable. Jean Baptiste Placé, a habitant, Jacques Bourdon, the captain of the militia, Chassin, and André Perillaud, a clerk, were all notaries in the 1720's.⁶⁷ Frequently the Jesuits acted in that capacity when no royal notary was at hand.

A minor official, also appointed by the council or the judge, was the *huisser*, who served subpoenas, brought persons into court at the judge's request, and with the notary announced sales at the church door. The interpreter, usually a trader, was appointed by the commandant and paid by the king.

⁶¹ ANC C13A 26:157. ⁶² Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript.

⁶³ *Régistre de la Paroisse*. ⁶⁴ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, II.

⁶⁵ Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, 196. ⁶⁶ Kaskaskia MSS., *passim*. ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

At the same time that the Company was establishing the post at the Illinois, the Jesuits at Kaskaskia concluded that the village had outgrown the mission stage. Father Boullanger began a new register June 18, 1719, of the "baptisms conferred in the church of the mission and the parish of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady."⁶⁸ The following year Father de Beauvois,⁶⁹ the new priest, styled himself curé of the parish and opened a register of "baptisms conferred in the Parish Church of the Conception of Our Lady of the Kaskaskia."⁷⁰

Parish and village were identical communities. The members of the one were the citizens of the other. Ownership of the commons was vested in the parish of the Immaculate Conception, and in 1727 a petition was presented to Commandant des Liettes for confirmation of the grant made by Boisbriant in 1719. Churchwardens, or *marguilliers*, were elected annually to keep the church buildings in repair, purchase whatever equipment was needed, regulate burials, and accept legacies. They were responsible to the parishioners to whom they made reports; and they did not always get along with the curé; they quarrelled with Father Tartarin over the repairs of the presbytery, and finally the Superior Council at New Orleans had to settle the matter by ordering the churchwardens and habitants to pay for the main repairs, the priest for the minor ones.⁷¹

Annual elections for a syndic were held in Kaskaskia, as was the custom in the northern provinces of France where his duty was to represent the village in all lawsuits against it. But in the Illinois country he seems to have taken on somewhat the character of a magistrate. Joseph Aubuchon, who succeeded Antoine Bienvenu on April 13, 1739, was elected syndic of the village, in charge of the fence around the commons.⁷²

Most of the business of local government was conducted in the assemblées held after mass in front of the church or in the house of one of the leading citizens, often that of the militia captain. All men above fourteen years of age were supposed to attend, and it appears that possibly widows also had the right of voting. When religious matters were to be decided, the curé presided, the syndic being in charge when questions of a civic nature were considered. Minutes were kept by the judge or clerk; voting was by acclamation. The assembly decided on the time for planting and harvesting, discussed the building and marking of roads, the upkeep of the fence around the commons, and the erection and repair of church buildings. Sometimes, too, they drew up petitions to be presented to the commandant or judge protesting an order or demanding the issuance of one on some certain matter.

⁶⁸ *Répertoire de la Paroisse.*

⁶⁹ Father de Beauvois later lived in New Orleans where he contended with the Capuchins for religious control of the city, and lost. ⁷⁰ *Répertoire de la Paroisse.*

⁷¹ Records of the Superior Council, *La. Hist. Quart.*, V, 77-78.

⁷² Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, I.

In November, 1729, the habitants laid before Du Tisné, then in command, the necessity of repairing the commons fence, since animals had gotten through into the fields and damaged the grain. He was asked to order each farmer whose land touched the commons to have his section of the fence in good shape by the end of the next March.⁷³

The road to the Saline was a frequent cause of discussion and altercation. The salt springs where the habitants procured their supplies were on the western side of the Mississippi, and the road to the river ferry led southwest from Kaskaskia across the cultivated fields. Originally the road had been marked, but carters began straying from it as they drove back and forth, doing much harm to the crops on either side. As the assembly was apparently indifferent to suggestions for re-marking the road, Louis Turpin, captain of the militia, Sieur la Source,⁷⁴ Sieur Legras,⁷⁵ and Dame Marie Madeleine Quesnel, wife of Antoine Carrier,⁷⁶ petitioned the commandant on May 11, 1737, to do something at once.⁷⁷ An *ordonnance* was issued, but the lead miners and others who lived on the far side of the river paid little heed to it. Turpin, whose fields were standing most of the damage, suggested to his neighbor, Colet, that each of them give a part of their land along the line joining their property for a road. Colet refused. Turpin went to the commandant and demanded that Colet be forced to relinquish half an arpent. The order was given January 4, 1742, and seems to have ended the matter.

⁷³ Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, II.

⁷⁴ Probably Jean Baptiste Thaumur de la Source, son of Dominique la Source; he was baptized in Montreal in 1696, died February 26, 1777. *Tanguay*, VII, 288. His wife, whom he married March 5, 1726, was Marie Françoise Rivard, widow of Joseph Lamy. His children were Antoine, who married Marianne Roy, May 5, 1760; Dominique, married to Elisabeth Aubuchon July 1, 1755; Marie Louise, born in 1737, married to Nicolas Janis April 27, 1751, and died in 1775; Jean Baptiste, born in 1747, married to Catherine Beauvais November 30, 1758, and died in 1767. *Répertoire de la Paroisse*.

⁷⁵ Daniel Legras or one of his brothers, Charles or Jean. They were the sons of Jean Baptiste Legras and Genevieve Malette of Montreal. Daniel married Susanne Kerami, widow of Antoine Beauisseron *dit* Leonard, June 7, 1728. He died in January, 1748.

⁷⁶ Antoine Carrier and Marie Madeleine Quesnel were parents of a son born in 1721, and of twin daughters born and baptized November 20, 1723, at Kaskaskia. Marie Madeleine, one of the twins, died the following December 17. Her sister, Céleste Thérèse, married Louis Boré.

⁷⁷ Kaskaskia MSS., Public Records, I.

CHAPTER III

THE VILLAGE OF KASKASKIA

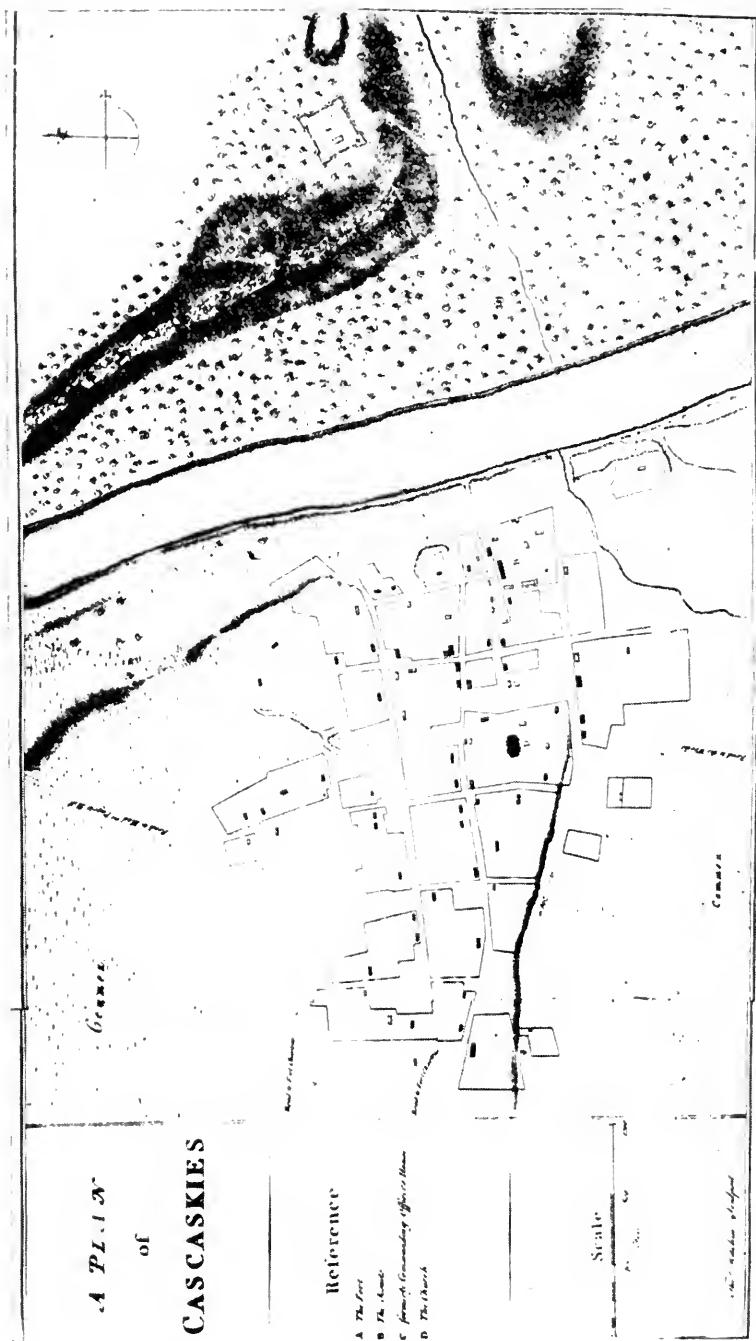
KASKASKIA began as a settlement of traders, priests, and Indians. When the mission was first established on the banks of the Kaskaskia River, there were no French officials about to lay out regular streets and square blocks, to reserve a grassy *Place d'Armes* before the church, to see that the houses were built in line with each other. New Orleans, Mobile, Natchez, all were surveyed, the streets laid wide and straight, the location of church, fort, powder magazine, hospital, and government house determined before a structure went up. Kaskaskia was built according to no such plan. The village, like Topsy, "jes growed." Fifty years later when the ministry wanted to build a fort there, Commandant Macarty reported that it would be impossible without taking land from someone or other, the town was so ill laid out.¹

The first houses were built three or four hundred feet back from the river's edge along a strip of beach, which at the northern limits of the town became a thick belt of timber skirting the river for many miles. Between the village and the fields to the south was a dry gulch, the Coulée, which ran eastward as far as the street of the church, and near the east end of the Coulée, a smaller stream bed twisted northeastward to the river. Half a mile above Kaskaskia the river turned abruptly to the west, and only a narrow neck of land separated the tributary from the Mississippi. Here at this point each year at flood time the great river cut its channel farther and farther eastward until in the spring of 1881 it at last broke through the short distance that remained, and leaving its old bed, swept down over the ancient French village.

From the gently sloping beach the village stretched back two-thirds of a mile, a narrow triangle with two of its streets nearly meeting on the western tip and actually coming together outside of town at the Cahokia gate on the road to Fort de Chartres. The longer of these, which cut through the center of town, was *La Grande Rue*, perhaps the Chartres Street of the American period. *La Rue de l'Église* ran parallel to the river past the presbytery on the east, the commandant's house and the church on the west. *La Rue de St. Louis* was possibly one of the shorter east and west streets, though it might have been the long street on the north.

Opposite Kaskaskia, on the far bank of the river, a ravine divided the limestone cliffs. On the summit of the higher, northern bluffs, the government in 1738 commenced the construction of a new fort to replace the ruined one at Fort de Chartres.² But when in the next year the officials realized that the expenses would amount to at least three times the sum of

¹ Huntington Manuscripts, Loudoun (hereafter referred to as HMLO), 328, January 20, 1752.
² ANC C13A 24:193v.



PLAN OF KASKASKIA
(From Pittman's *Mississippi Settlement*)

money appropriated, all work was halted.³ Sometime, perhaps after 1747 when Fort de Chartres was abandoned and the troops were lodged at Kaskaskia in a building owned by Louis Turpin, a fort of timbers was erected on the bluff overlooking the town. Apparently never completed, it burned to the ground in October, 1766.⁴

The church, as one might expect, was nearly in the center of town. The first building erected by the Jesuits at the beginning of the mission was probably made of mulberry or walnut posts set in the ground, its roof of thatch. In 1711, Penicaut described the church as a large one with three chapels, a belfry, and a bell.⁵ In 1723, D'Artaguette wrote that the church there was "certainly the finest in the colony."⁶ This may have been the building Penicaut saw or a third one which, according to tradition, was built in 1714; very likely it is the one concerning which the governor of Louisiana wrote in 1728:

Father Boullanger, curé at the Kaskaskia, writes that the habitants, having built their church at their own expense, do not owe any honorary dues to the Company according to the agreement made with Messieurs De Boisbriant and Des Ursins and their pledge that if the Company would lay claim to them, they should reimburse them for what it has cost them. We inclose a copy of the items that have been addressed to M. de La Chaise upon this matter. These habitants wish to know the intention of the Company before doing anything further on their church.⁷

At the time when work on the fort at Kaskaskia was stopped in 1739, the French of the village were thinking about erecting another church, or may have already begun work upon one. At any rate, Father Tartarin and the *marguilliers* requested that they be allowed to use the stone collected for the fort in their new parish church. Bienville and Salmon, transmitting the petition to the ministry, remarked that permission might as well be given, for unless the stone was carefully watched, the habitants would take it anyway. Four months later, the minister replied that since

³ ANC C13A 25:12^v-13^v.

⁴ Pittman, *Mississippi Settlements*, 85. In a letter of Pittman to Gage, February 24, 1766 (Gage papers, W. L. Clements Library), Pittman describes the fort as it was before it was destroyed.

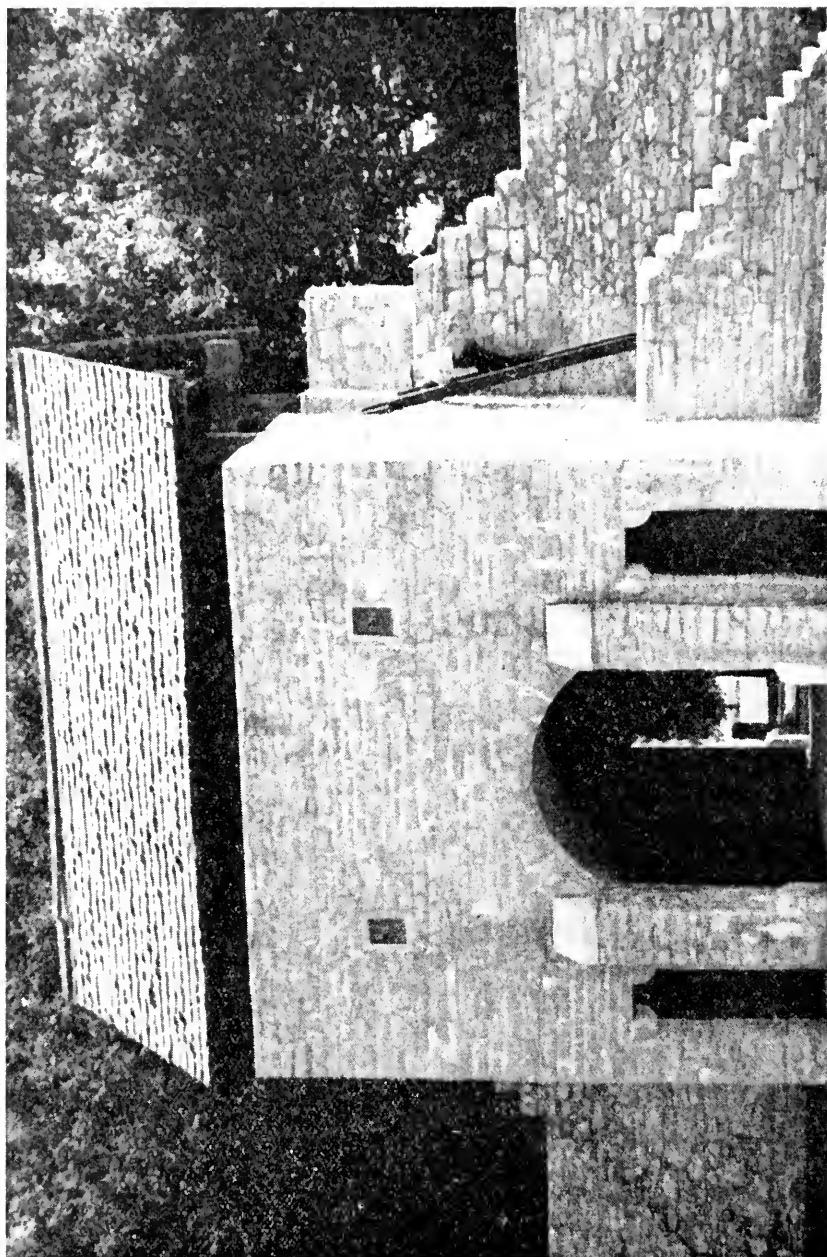
"The Fort stands on the opposite side of the River on the summit of a Rock, to the top of which one ascends with a gradual slope, which is about 300 yards from the Top to the Bottom. The Fort is an oblongular Quadrangle of which the exterior Polygon measures 290 by 251 feet. The side facing the Village stands parallel to the Course of the River, NW and SE, the other sides which are the longest run NE by E. The Fort is commanded even by musquetry from rising grounds both to the NW and NE. The ditch, is 25 feet wide and about 4 feet deep, the top of the parapet is 8 feet 6 inches from the bottom of the Ditch and 4 feet and 1 inch wide, the Rampart is 4 feet 8 inches in height and 14 . . . (?) . . . in breadth. There is one embrasure in the faces and flanks of each bastion, there are two opposite gates which open to the NW and SE, in the Center of the Curtin. The one to the NW has a drawbridge before it, which remains drawn up. The only buildings within the Fort are one Barrack containing three rooms, and a Kitchen built within the Gorge of the SW Bastion. Neither these or the Fort have ever been finished. Cascasquias is 6 Leagues by land and 10 by water SE from Fort Cavendish [Fort de Chartres].

REPORT OF THE STATE AND CONDITION OF THE FORT AT CASCASQUIAS

Nothing remaining of the Barracks and Kitchen but the Frame, Roof and shingle covering. No platforms to mount the Guns on the SE Bastion fallen down — most of the Planks and some timbers of the Parapet rotten, Locks and keys wanting to the Gates — the Ditch, Parapet, and Ramparts entirely overgrown with bushes."

⁵ Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements*, V, 491.

⁶ Mereness, *Travels*, 28. ⁷ ANC C13A 11:49.



RESTORED MAIN GATE, Fort de CHARTRES

Two cannon under the roof guard the approach to the gate.

the materials that have been collected at the Illinoise would be lost in one way or the other the king approves that you allow them to be used in building the church that the habitants wish to erect; but His Majesty does not intend to make a gift to this parish; and he wishes that M. Salmon make them pay in cash the most advantageous price he can get.⁸

This last church was completed in 1753, a frame structure probably of walnut or oak, 104 by 44 feet, and paid for by the contributions of the parishioners and the surplice and mass-fees of three successive Jesuit curés, Fathers Tartarin, Watrin and Aubert.⁹ Macarty reported in 1752 that it was "a pretty one for the place."¹⁰ More than half a century later, Flagg, in *The Far West* thus pictured the church that was new in 1753, but venerable in 1836.

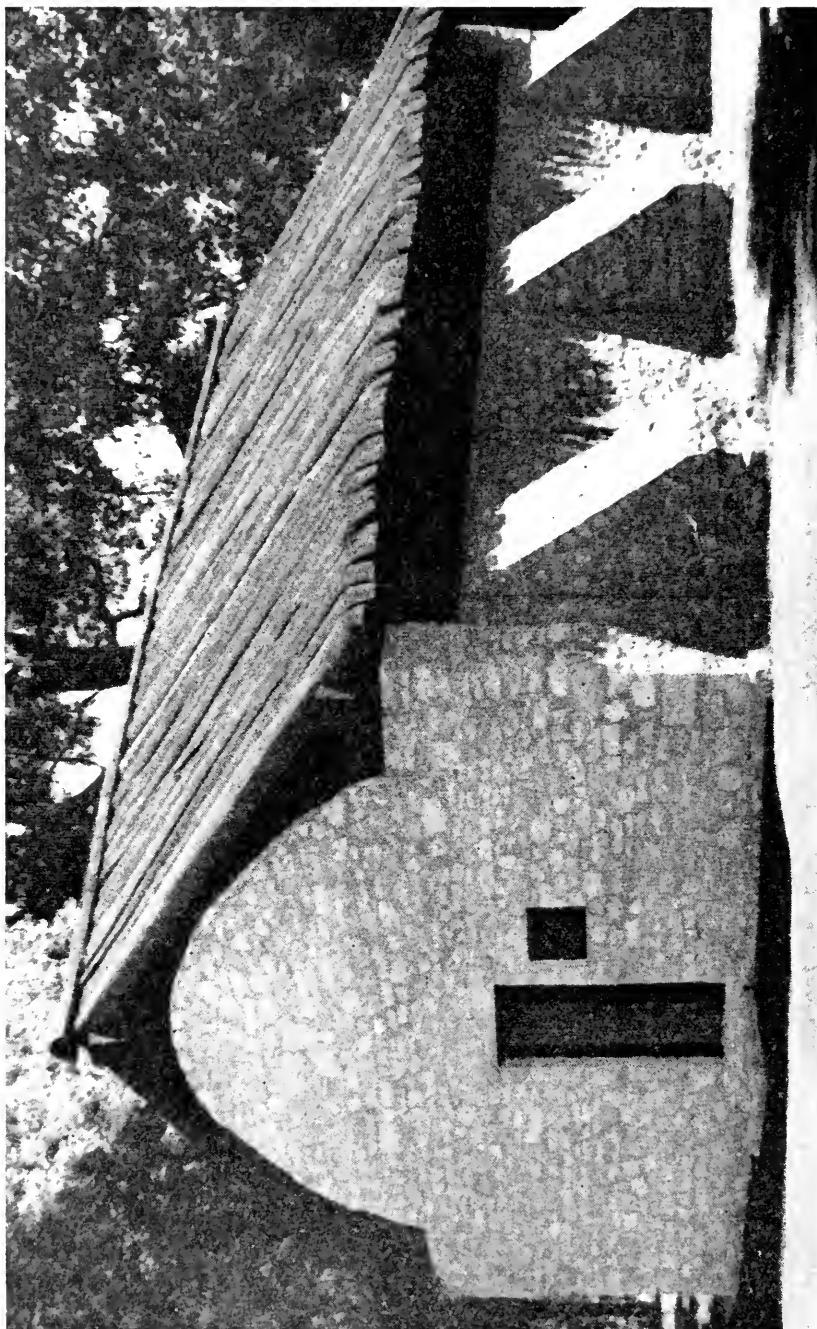
It is a huge old pile, extremely awkward and ungainly with its projecting eves [sic], its walls of hewn timbers perpendicularly planted, and the interstices stuffed with mortar, with its quaint old-fashioned spire, and its dark storm-beaten casements. The interior of the edifice is somewhat imposing, notwithstanding the sombre hue of its walls; these are rudely plastered with lime, and decorated with a few dingy paintings. The floor is of loose, rough boards, and the ceiling arched with oaken panels. The altar and the lamp suspended above are very antique, I was informed by the officiating priest, having been used in the former church. The lamp is a singular specimen of superstition illustrated by the arts. But the structure of the roof is the most remarkable feature of this venerable edifice. This I discovered in a visit to the belfrey of the tower, accomplished at no little expenditure of sinew and muscle for stairs are an appliance quite unknown to this primitive building. There are frames of 2 distinct roofs, of massive workmanship, neatly crossing each other at every angle, and so ingeniously and accurately arranged by the architect, that it is mathematically impossible that any portion of the structure shall sink until time with a single blow shall level the entire edifice. . . . The belfrey reminded me of one of those ancient monuments of the Druids called *Rocking-Stones*; for though it tottered to and from beneath my weight and always swings with the bell when it is struck, perhaps the united force of a hundred men could hardly hurl it from its seat. The bell is consecrated by the crucifix cast in its surface, and bears the inscription "Pour L'église des Illinois. Normand A. Parachelle, 1741."¹¹

Of this old church there remain today the bell, that was cast in France; the altar stone of white marble, 11 by 7½ inches, badly stained but with the date 1681 scratched upon it; two reliquaries 3 by 1½ feet, roughly hand-carved in the seventeenth century by some *donné* or lay brother; the carved altar; six wooden candlesticks; two small wooden statues of St. Joseph and the Virgin; and a large painting of the Immaculate Conception.

Around the church lay the parish cemetery. East, across the grassy yard, was the house which lodged the commandant during the period of the abandonment of Fort de Chartres, and across the *Rue de l'Église* was the property of the Jesuit fathers. Adjoining their land on the south, and bounded by two gullies, a knoll rose above the lower land of the village.

⁸ ANC B70:472-473. ⁹ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXX, 233.

¹⁰ HML 376, September 2, 1752. ¹¹ Flagg, *The Far West*, II, 172-173.



POWDER MAGAZINE, FORT DE CHARTRES

The timber roof is a restoration, but the remainder of the building is the original magazine.

On this site, about 1753, Macarty was instructed to build a fort.¹² The gullies would serve as moats, and the hilltop, though it could be commanded by cannon, could not be by musket. The commandant reported that the two cannon he had carried to the heights had fired balls as far as the fence around the commons, more than a thousand feet from the village.¹³ On May 20, 1753, Claude Caron,¹⁴ of Kaskaskia, in the presence of Saucier,¹⁵ the engineer sent to build a new fort, sold to Buchet, the *écrivain principal*, for the crown

land for the site of a fort which is to be constructed, on which land there are a small house and an outbuilding in which the lime (or limestone) may be stored, the said land containing 192 feet in width and 284 in depth touching on the north to the creek of the R. P. Jesuits in front to the Kaskaskia river in the rear bordered by the Common, on the south by Sr. Buyat who possesses the same quantity of land as that above which will likewise be purchased from the said Buyat.¹⁶

The next year when the French ministry ordered all work at Kaskaskia halted, Governor Kerlerec replied that it was impossible.¹⁷ The palisade

¹² HMLO 376, September 2, 1752. ¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ The son of Claude Caron and Jeanne Boyer of Montreal, he was baptized July 12, 1714, at Montreal. His wife was Charlotte la Chenais, daughter of Philippe la Chenais and Marguerite Texier, whom he married February 29, 1743. Their children included Elisabeth, baptized March 6, 1760; Marie Joseph, baptized April 19, 1761; and Jean Baptiste, baptized December 27, 1763.

¹⁵ François Saucier, architect of the stone fort of Fort de Chartres. That it was François is definitely established by a letter of F. Saucier, engineer sent to Illinois, to Vaudreuil, January 20, 1752. HMLO, 329. This credit has long been given to Jean Baptiste Saucier, and chiefly on the authority of Dr. John F. Snyder, who in the 1919 *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society published a long article on "Captain John Baptiste Saucier at Fort Chartres in the Illinois, 1751-1763." Labeled as history, and supposedly based on documents destroyed in a fire a century ago, the romantic tale of young Jean Baptiste is a pure figment of imagination, full of errors at every turn. According to Dr. Snyder, who says he is a descendent of Jean, the youth was born in France and fell in love with his foster sister, Adel Lepage. He was sent to Illinois where he fell in love with Eulalie, Commandant Macarty's daughter, but she died tragically of some lung disease; then Jean Baptiste, returning to New Orleans, learned that Adel, coming to Louisiana, had contracted the plague on board ship and died. But she was not dead, and sometime later, on the night before the Illinois convoy was due to set out in Jean Baptiste's charge, he discovered her working as a poor seamstress in the mansion of her cousins, the Delormes, in New Orleans. They were married the next morning at the Ursuline chapel and spent their honeymoon on the Illinois-bound batteau!

Actually there were three Saucier brothers in Illinois: Henri, Jean Baptiste, and François, sons of Jean Baptiste Saucier and Gabrielle Savary of Mobile. *La. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, 484. Their mother married a second time to Pierre Vivareinne, who had died by 1736. She died by 1738, leaving two sons in Illinois, one aged twenty-nine, the other twenty-seven — probably Henri and Jean Baptiste — and two minor sons, probably Jean Baptiste and François Vivareinne.

Henri Saucier was the husband of Barbe la Croix, daughter of François la Croix and Barbe Montmeunier of St. Philippe. On February 6, 1733, he bought three arpents of land from his father-in-law. (Document quoted from Kaskaskia MSS. in *Ill. Hist. Soc. Trans.*, XX, 261.)

Jean Baptiste Saucier married Marie Rose Girardy in April, 1740. *La. Hist. Quart.*, X, 274. He died in Illinois in 1747 leaving two minor children, and his widow married Louis Vernay.

The wife of François Saucier was Marie Jeanne Fontaille; in July, 1761, after the death of François, she married Antoine de Selle Duclos, *cadet l'aiguillette*, son of Monsieur Alexandre Duclos and Elizabeth Michelle. The parish register of Ste. Anne which gives the above information, includes also an entry for February 19, 1752, when François Saucier, "engineer," was godfather to Marie Françoise, daughter of his half-brother, Jean Baptiste Vivareinne and Marie Anne St. Pierre. A son of François Saucier, also called François, was born about 1740, was in command of Fort Massac when it surrendered to the English in 1765, and was the father of twenty-two children. Houck, *History of Missouri*, II, 89.

¹⁶ It has long been held that the fort George Rogers Clark captured was the Jesuit's house. It is just possible that it may have been a fort built on this knoll, for it was on the lot next to the Jesuits'.

¹⁷ ANC C13A 36:88-91; 38:17-19.

fort mentioned in 1753 as being at Kaskaskia may have been on this site.¹⁸

Clustered together near the church, in a manner of the feudal towns of old France, were the houses of the habitants. But the architecture of the French colonist was peculiarly his own.¹⁹ While the English pioneer laid logs one on top of the other to make the familiar log-cabin, the Frenchman stood his on end and called it a *maison de poteaux en terre*, a house of posts in the ground. Logs set on a foundation made a *maison de poteaux sur sole*. When scantlings replaced the logs, the house was of *colombage sur sole*.²⁰ And if he lived in a region where stone was plentiful, as it was in the Illinois country, he often built his home of *pierre sur pierre*.

The house of *poteaux en terre*, which was probably the universal style of the first Kaskaskia houses, was built of walnut, oak, or mulberry logs, sometimes hewn flat on two or four sides, the interstices filled with *bouzillage*, a mixture of clay and grass, or *pierrotage* of rubble stone and clay. But the logs in time rotted off in the ground, so that today in Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, where the French from Kaskaskia first settled, traditionally, about 1735, there remain only three houses of this type—the Amoureaux, Beauvais and Ribault houses; they are built of cedar.

The second type of construction, a house of sills, obviated the danger from rotting logs by setting them on foundations of native limestone quarried from the river bluffs. The timbers used were heavy ones, sometimes as much as ten inches square, and set less than a foot apart.

A house of *colombage* is first mentioned in the Kaskaskia Manuscripts in a document dated sometime after February 20, 1744,²¹ when one of this kind at Kaskaskia was sold by Jean Baptiste Barbeau to Sieur Desruisseaux, who shortly afterwards resold it to Mathieu Pien.²² From that date almost all of the houses described are of this type.

A contract made in November, 1740, between Jean Paré²³ and Sébastien François *dit Canarie*²⁴ for the erection of a house for the latter, probably at Prairie du Rocher, calls for a house of *charpente sur solle* of white oak.²⁵ Possibly *charpente* and *colombage* were synonymous.

The first stone house in the Illinois country was built by Philippe Renault on his concession above Fort de Chartres about 1722 or 1723.²⁶

¹⁸ ANC C13C 1:107.

¹⁹ For most of the information about the varying types of French colonial architecture in Illinois, I am indebted to Charles Peterson, senior architect, National Park Service, St. Louis.

²⁰ I am responsible for this classification. Mr. Peterson believes that a house of *colombage* was the same as a house of *potcaux*. ²¹ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, VI.

²² A soldier of the garrison at Kaskaskia.

²³ Died October 4, 1744, at Fort de Chartres, aged fifty years. He always printed his name thus: "IPARE."

²⁴ His name was sometimes written François Sébastien; he was Swiss.

²⁵ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, IV.

²⁶ Mississippi Provincial Archives, II, 407.

Most of the houses at Kaskaskia by that time had stone chimneys, but there is no record of any stone house among the eighty or so that stood in the village in 1721. In the decade of the thirties there are contracts for the construction of many and bills of sale for several. In 1766, according to Pittman, there were forty-three, about half of all the houses in Kaskaskia.²⁷

A distinguishing characteristic of the French architecture of the Mississippi Valley, one not common in the homes of Canada from which most of the Illinois habitants came, was the *galerie*, or wide porch, across the two long sides of the house, often across three sides, and many times running entirely around the house. Several doors, each from a different room, opened onto this porch.

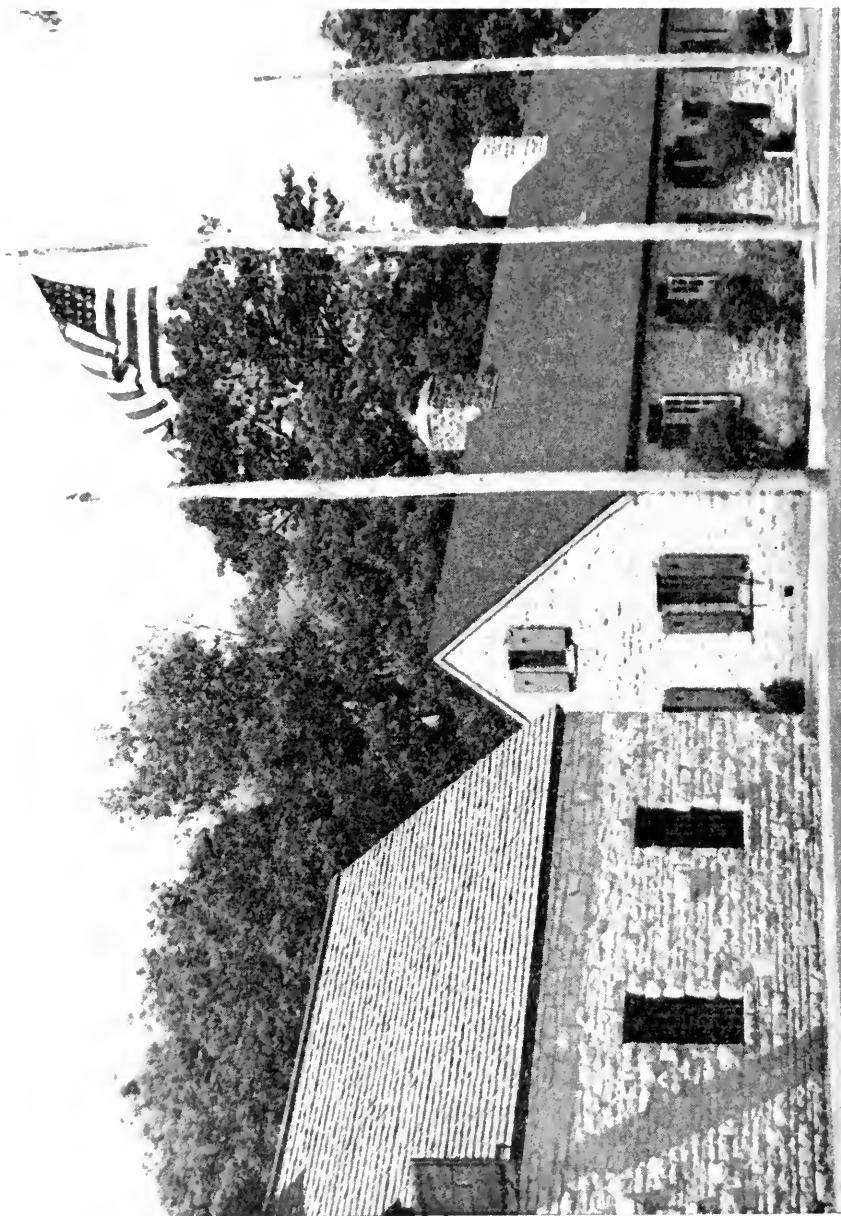
The floor plan of all the houses was similar. The homes of most of the habitants had one, two, or three rooms placed end to end, each with its own outside door. Partitions across the end of one of the rooms provided small bed-chambers called *cabinets*. The kitchen, center of family life in the homes of the bourgeois, was a part of the house; in the last years of the French régime, in a few houses of the wealthy, it was detached from the main building as it is in the Pierre Menard home at Chester, Illinois. But even the poor had a summer oven out-of-doors, protected by a rude shelter of branches, where baking was done during the hot weather. Only the better houses possessed cellars, or *caveaux*.

Outside and inside, the habitant's home was plastered, if he could afford it; it was always whitewashed. The steep-hipped roof was made of straw in the early days, later of bark or shingles, and pierced by the great stone chimney and dormer windows. Casement windows, fitted with glass, and heavy doors that were sometimes panelled, were protected by *contrévents*, solid wood shutters. The average house appears to have had about four windows, perhaps one or two dormers, and three or four doors.

Other buildings on the land near the house were the stable, negro quarters, the henhouse and the pigpen, mostly built of posts in the ground. The Jesuits also had a dovecote, a tall circular tower of stone. The barn as a rule stood on the habitant's concession in the common fields, though sometimes it was on his land in the village. The three or four horse mills at Kaskaskia were also built near their owners' houses. Around each lot, with its several buildings and its vegetable garden and small fruit orchard, was a high palisade, usually of mulberry logs. The French settler of the Mississippi Valley lived in his fort.

One of the first contracts for the construction of a house which is to be found among the Kaskaskia Manuscripts is that made May 13, 1723, between Boisbriant and Philippe Bienvenu, a carpenter of Kaskaskia,

²⁷ Pittman, *Mississippi Settlements*, 85.



RESTORED COMMANDANT'S HOUSE, FORT DE CHARTRES

for the commandant's house at Fort de Chartres. Evidently to be of *poteaux sur sole*, the house was to have eight casement windows, each with a dormer and shutters, the wood between the glass panes to be turned. The two outside doors were to swing "like those of the parish church of Kaskaskia."²⁸ Boisbriant agreed to furnish the wood, nails, and a man "Pour faire sa chaudiere Lequel Sera Noury aux depences de La Compagnie," and pay Bienvenu 2,000 livres, half in merchandise of the magazine upon the arrival of the convoy, the other half in letters of exchange.²⁹

The original house on the concession granted to Lieutenant Melique³⁰ by Boisbriant a mile or so north of Kaskaskia was built in the summer of 1723 by François la Plume. It was of posts in the ground, thirty by twenty-two feet, floored, and with three doors and a *galerie*.³¹ On April 11, 1725, Melique hired Michael Vien to build him a house of walnut or mulberry posts, twenty-five by eighteen feet, with one door and a thatched roof.³² The next October he made a contract with Mathurin Charant of Fort de Chartres for the erection of two frame houses the same size as his second one, and of walnut and white oak. Each was to have two chimneys, two doors, and three windows. The carpenter was to be paid 2,000 livres in merchandise from the storehouse.³³

Jacques Bourdon, the captain of the Kaskaskia militia, of whom mention has been made before, died in June, 1723,³⁴ one of the wealthiest men in the village, but his house was little better than those of his neighbors, though perhaps it was larger to take care of his eight children. It was of *poteaux sur sole*, forty feet in length, the spaces between the logs filled with a mixture of clay and grass. The roof was thatched; the stone chimney was double. Near the house there were two slave cabins "falling into ruin."³⁵

Most of the houses in Kaskaskia were about the same size. Pierre Aco received from the estate of his mother, Marie Rouensa, a house thirty-eight or thirty-nine feet long and nineteen feet wide, evidently partitioned at one end for bedrooms. The land with the house and other buildings on it he sold in September, 1725, to Michael Vien³⁶ for 2,500 livres.³⁷ The house of Antoine Beauisseron³⁸ who died in Kaskaskia in the spring of 1726, was of posts in the ground, forty-six feet long and

²⁸ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, I. ²⁹ *Ibid.*

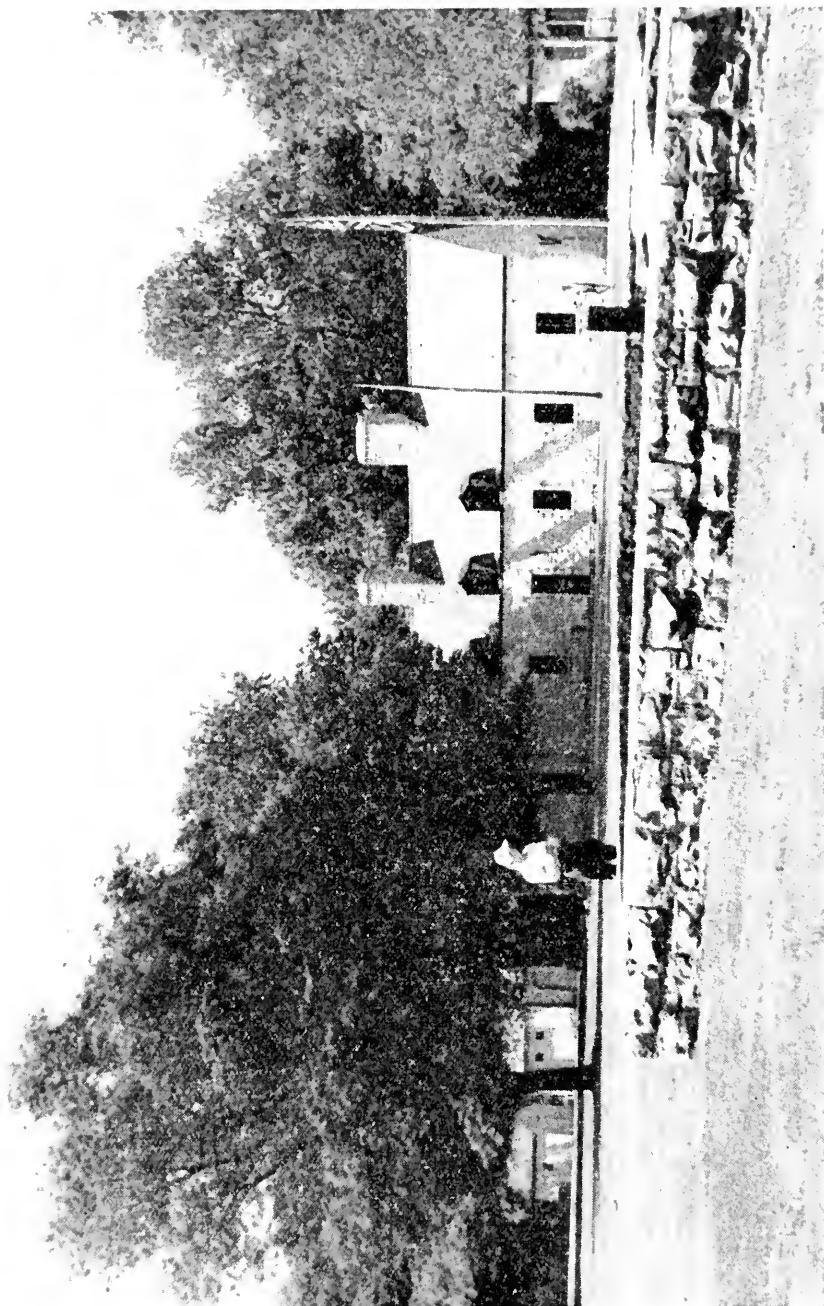
³⁰ Pierre Melique, lieutenant of the company of D'Artaguette, was the son of Pierre Melique, of Mondidier; he was fifty years old in 1725. Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, I. He was killed by Indians late in 1726 or early in 1727, along with seven other French, as they were on their way to the Missouri post. ANC C13A 10:225.

³¹ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, I. ³² *Ibid.* ³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Régistre de la Paroisse.* ³⁵ Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, II.

³⁶ His wife was Marie Françoise le Vert. *La Hist. Quart.*, X, 582. In 1736 he was a resident of New Orleans. ³⁷ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, I.

³⁸ Antoine Beauisseron *dit* Leonard was the second husband of Susanne Kerami. His son, Antoine, was baptized August 7, 1717; Augustin was baptized August 28, 1719. *Régistre de la Paroisse.* A Jean Baptise Ridé *dit* Beauisseron was living in Kaskaskia on May 4, 1746.



RESTORED GUARD HOUSE

The guard house is in the background, with the foundations of another building in the foreground. The chapel of the fort was in the left end of the guard house, with the chaplain's quarters immediately adjoining.

twenty feet wide. There was a floor, but the roof was only half ceiled.³⁹ In the estate left by Louis Texier⁴⁰ there was a house thirty-five by nineteen feet, a stable of mulberry posts thirty-six by twenty-two feet, and a barn also of mulberry wood of almost the same dimensions.⁴¹

The house which Alexandre Duclos sold to M. Cesar de Blanc at Fort de Chartres December 18, 1757, was thirty-nine feet long, of posts in the ground, with a thatched roof, one partition, three doors, and three windows furnished with shutters. Near the house was a stable of posts twenty-two feet square with a thatched roof; there was also a chicken-house without any roof, ten feet on each side.⁴²

A house built by François Dielle for Joseph Brazeau,⁴³ merchant, in Kaskaskia in 1739 was of posts without foundations, twenty-five by twenty feet, with four windows and two doors. Brazeau furnished the wood and paid Diel 400 livres in flour or silver.⁴⁴ At the same time, Jean Baptiste Aubuchon contracted to build a house for Étienne Gaudreau of the same description for 300 livres plus food for Aubuchon and his helpers, and provided he supplied the harness necessary to haul the wood. The carpenter furnished the rafters for the roof.⁴⁵ On December 28, 1739, Gaudreau hired Dielle to build another house of posts, of the same dimensions, with one door and two windows on each "grande face," one door in one gable end, and a lean-to "sur trois potauese." Dielle was to begin the next week and work steadily, weather permitting, and be paid 300 livres.⁴⁶ It might seem that Gaudreau, the blacksmith, was going into the real estate business that year.

André Chevalier, the *garde magazin* who died in 1759, had a fine house of posts in the ground in Nouvelle Chartres, opposite the main gate of the new fort. It consisted of a *chambre, salles*, "many bedrooms" and a cellar. The roof was shingled; there were three stone chimneys, and the kitchen with its own stone chimney was separate from the house and made of *poteaux sur sole*; there was a small garden in the courtyard. Antoine Simon d'Aunerville, Chevalier's successor as keeper of the store-house, purchased it from his heirs in April, 1759, for 10,475 livres,⁴⁷ far and away the largest amount paid for any house in the Illinois country of which there is a record.

³⁹ Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, II.

⁴⁰ His wife was Catherine, an Indian, who after his death married Jean Baptiste Lalande. Their children — Symphorosa, baptized in 1717, Paul, baptized in 1719 and killed in 1740, and Marie Rose, who married Pierre St. Ange, and on Nov. 20, 1741, Nicolas Boyer. Louis was a churchwarden, and was killed at Natchez June 3, 1721. A requiem mass for him was held at Kaskaskia the following September 18. *Régistre de la Paroisse*.

⁴¹ Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, II. ⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Joseph Brazeau, born about 1702, was the husband of Françoise Dizier, whom he married about 1739. He died June 4, 1774, Tanguay, II, 457. He was the father of Joseph, who married Marie Bienvenu *dit* Delisle; Louis, born in 1745, died in 1828; and Marie Françoise, born 1757, died 1826, who married Jean Baptiste Chauvin Charleville.

⁴⁴ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers III, February 6, 1739.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, III.

Among the first stone houses in Kaskaskia was that built for Pierre Pilet *dit* Lasonde by Charles Gossiaux,⁴⁸ mason of Prairie du Rocher and Eustache Moreau, a mason of Kaskaskia. The contract, drawn March 2, 1739, which describes the house, almost defies translation, the French is so bad. Here is a paragraph:

de pierre de pareille Longueur huitem Et un pied par haut Et mesme Largeur portes et fenestre de Briquere une Chemine d ancre [?] un pignoin et deux dans Lautre Reduits en un turure [?] Les foyers Les mur renduit et en dedans et Blanchir et Crepis [?] en dechart. . . .⁴⁹

Lasonde agreed to furnish all the material and pay the builders 700 livres, half in card-money, half in flour.⁵⁰

François Diel, the carpenter, on January 3, 1739, signed a contract to erect a stone house in Kaskaskia, twenty by eighteen feet, the frame to be made of oak or walnut.⁵¹ On April 25 Marguerite Doza, wife of the merchant Jean Baptiste Guillot, ratified the sale made by her husband the previous autumn to Jacques Grignon of a stone house "completely furnished with everything necessary and ornamental."⁵² The following January, Nicolas Devegnois⁵³ was hired to build a stone house at a cost of 2,000 livres for Jean Baptiste Richard.⁵⁴ Finished by June 16, 1742, it was thirty-two by twenty-two feet, the same height "as that of Grignon's," with shutters covering the four windows and both of the doors panelled. The hearth was stone; the palisade about the lot was made of mulberry posts. Ironwork and locks came from the forge of Louis Normand *dit* Labriere,⁵⁵ master toolmaker of the parish.⁵⁶ In October, 1740, Richard bought a house of posts from Lalande for the price of one negress named Marie and 600 livres in card-money and flour. This house was shingled, with a *galerie* on two sides and a stone chimney.⁵⁷

The first two-story house to be mentioned in the Manuscripts was a stone one which stood on land outside the village and figured in trade between Pierre Derousse *dit* St. Pierre and Pierre Louviere d'Amours.⁵⁸ Together with the two arpents of land on which it was located and a horse mill of *poteaux sur sole* nearby the house was exchanged by St. Pierre for a house of posts in the ground situated in Kaskaskia, a large wardrobe, and 200 livres.⁵⁹ St. Pierre used the village house for a tavern.

⁴⁸ Son of Philippe, of the diocese of Cambray. Married Jeanne Bienvenu, daughter of Philippe and Françoise Alary, of the diocese of Cannes, September 13, 1723. They were the parents of at least one child, Jeanne, who died December 21, 1746. After the death of his wife sometime before September 12, 1729, Charles married Marie Rose Gonneau, widow of Pierre Marechal. Among their children were Marie and Jacques. Charles Gossiaux died February 8, 1751, aged about 52 years.

⁴⁹ Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, III. ⁵⁰ *Ibid.* ⁵¹ *Ibid.* ⁵² *Ibid.* ⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Nicolas Thuiller Devegnois, second husband of Dorothée Mercier. See Appendix, p. 93.

⁵¹ See Appendix, p. 95. ⁵² See Appendix, p. 98.

⁵³ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, IV. ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ See Appendix, p. 97. ⁵⁶ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, VI, April 10, 1743.

Undoubtedly the largest in town was the three-story stone house built by Louis Turpin which François Vallé⁶⁰ bought for 1700 livres from Turpin's estate at an auction held January 30, 1763.⁶¹ Probably erected sometime in the decade of the forties, it stood on the corner of two streets "which lead to the parish church." That it was one of the chief structures of the village can be seen from the fact that in several documents mention is made of "the street that leads to Louis Turpin's house." With its stone chimneys, its gallery on the second floor across two sides, and its shingled roof, it must have resembled the later home of Pierre Menard on the east bank of the Kaskaskia River.

The presbytery at Kaskaskia, which may have been the building that years later served as the territorial capitol of Illinois, was constructed in 1731. On February 1, La Source, churchwarden in charge "de la fabrique" and certain delegated parishioners contracted with Charles Rogué *dit* Desvertus (?) for a "batiment sur sole" thirty by twenty-two feet with a shed eight feet wide at one gable end, a double chimney of posts in the ground, and a porch 4½ feet wide on three sides of the building. A partition of planks was to divide the presbytery into two rooms; there were to be six doors and seven windows with two dormers; the window frames and the shutters were to be 5 by 2½ feet, and both the presbytery and the lean-to were to be shingled. The habitants agreed to cart the necessary wood and pay Rogué 2,000 livres in three installments — one-third in hams at 10 *sols* a pound at the beginning of the work; one-third in bacon when the work was half done, and the remainder, when the building was completed, in grain at 4 francs a minot or in flour at 15 francs a minot.⁶² Rogué in his turn engaged Jean Baptiste Potier, master joiner, to put in the ceiling and make the windows and doors in return for 2,000 pounds of flour and four hams.⁶³

Thus was built the French village of Kaskaskia. The number of its houses seems not to have changed much in the fifty-odd years of its existence as a parish, if reports of visitors in 1721 and 1766 can be relied upon. Sieur l'Allemand, who was in Illinois in the earlier year, counted eighty houses in the town.⁶⁴ Pittman's map of 1766 shows eighty-one.⁶⁵ But l'Allemand may have included more than dwelling houses, for his number appears large for a village of only 37 families — there were 37 women given in the census of 1723, presumably all married — and 68 unmarried men. On the other hand, Pittman probably meant to indicate only in a general way the houses of Kaskaskia.

⁶⁰ See Appendix, p. 86. ⁶¹ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, III.

⁶² *Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, II. ⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ ASII 115-10, no. 29. ⁶⁵ Pittman, *Mississippi Settlements*, map of Kaskaskia.

The French settlement grew slowly and the increase must have come largely from births, for immigration to the Illinois after the twenties was small. D'Artagniette's census for 1723 was given in Chapter I. Nine years later another census counted 159 men, 39 women and 190 children. Be that as it may, this second enumeration gives the following statistics for Kaskaskia:

Legitimate children.....	87
Bastard children.....	14
Arpents cultivated.....	126
Land in value.....	2,054
Negroes, <i>pièce d'Inde</i> ⁶⁶	38
Negresses.....	23
Negro children.....	41
Indian slaves.....	30 men; 38 women
Oxen.....	256
Cows.....	237
Pigs.....	894
Horses.....	108
Mills.....	11
Houses.....	52
Barns.....	28

For purposes of comparison, here are the data⁶⁷ on the other settlements of southern Illinois:

	Concession of			General Recapitula- tion
	Fort de Chartres	North of de Chartres	Cahokia Mission	Renault
Men.....	..	..	..	159
Women.....	..	..	..	39
Legitimate children.....	66	17	..	...
Bastard children.....	6	..	..	...
Orphans or bastards.....	..	..	..	20
Arpents cultivated.....	140	250	..	266
Land in value.....	827	471	39	3,391
Negroes, <i>pièce d'Inde</i>	13	14	3	68
Negresses.....	6	3	1	33
Negro children.....	18	5	..	64
Male Indian slaves.....	19	1	5	57
Female Indian slaves.....	20	1	..	62
Oxen.....	116	28	3	407
Cows.....	122	42	7	431
Pigs.....	376	163	30	1,463
Horses.....	59	25	10	202
Mills.....	5	2	..	18
Houses.....	41	9	2	104
Barns.....	19	7	1	55
Stables.....	..	5	..	6

⁶⁶ "Pièce d'Inde" was the standard value of a complete negro—that is, a negro seventeen years old, or over, without bodily defects, or a negress, without bodily defects, of fifteen to thirty years, or three children of eight to ten years in age.

⁶⁷ ANC G1:464. It is easy to see by the census for Renault's concession that he did *not* bring 500 negroes to Illinois in 1719, and that he did not receive 25 negroes from the Company annually.

Brontin's map of the region, dated 1734, gives the population of Kaskaskia as 200 and of Cahokia as 139.

A general census of Louisiana in 1746 gives the Illinois population as 300 habitants and 600 negroes.⁶⁸ The next detailed census was taken on Macarty's orders in 1752.⁶⁹ It can easily be proved incomplete, yet it is still the fullest census we have of the region. The population totals are as follows:

	<i>Fort de Kaskaskia</i>	<i>St. Chartres</i>	<i>St. Philippe</i>	<i>Port du Rocher</i>	<i>Cahokia</i>	<i>Ste. Genevieve</i>
Men.....	58	26	15	10	18	7
Women.....	50	24	12	9	13	4
Widows.....	8	7	2	2	1	..
Boys of military age.....	36	27	9	6	3	1
Boys over 12 years.....	64	20	6	6	16	..
Marriageable girls.....	11	10	8	1	6	..
Girls over 12 years.....	46	36	12	5	17	4
Volunteers.....	77	35	6	14	15	2
Negroes.....	102	34	20	18	11	3
Negresses.....	67	25	7	8	6	..
Negro boys.....	45	16	10	8	4	..
Negro girls.....	32	13	8	6	3	..
Male savages.....	31	13	11	4	11	..
Female savages.....	44	23	4	4	12	..
Oxen.....	320	172	96	87	84	18
Cows.....	331	131	63	80	90	19
Bull calves.....	147	80	51	54	53	23
Heifers.....	145	78	32	37	45	12
Horses.....	346	72	35	29	13	24
Mares.....	75	30	27	19	25	4
Pigs.....	841	198	184	174	100	185
Guns.....	155	101	27	37	29	14
Powder.....	61	97	13	9	67	3
Lead and balls.....	1,771	276	159	30	68	7
Arpents of land.....	131	62	74	74	33	33
Arpents in value.....	2,232	1,800	874	1,205	350	350

Not counted were the three hundred soldiers in garrison at Fort de Chartres, Cahokia and Kaskaskia.

A memoir of the same year on the French forts in Louisiana gives the total number of habitants of the five villages on the eastern banks of the Mississippi as 6,000 with 5,000 negroes, 600 soldiers in garrison, 12 cannon at Fort de Chartres, 100 houses in Prairie du Rocher and 260 houses altogether in the country.⁷⁰

An unsigned memoir of 1763 states that there were 180 to 200 habitants at Kaskaskia and 90 at Nouvelle Chartres.⁷¹ In 1767 Gage found at Kaskaskia:⁷²

⁶⁸ ANC C13A 30:251v. ⁶⁹ HML 426, 1-7.

⁷⁰ Pargellis, *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765*, 13.

⁷¹ ANC C13A 42:296.

⁷² Alvord and Carter, *The New Regime*, 469.

Inhabitants, men, women, children.....	600
Negro men.....	142
Negro women.....	81
Negro boys.....	80
Oxen.....	295
Cows.....	342
Horses.....	216
Bushels of Indian corn.....	25,500
Bushels of wheat.....	13,008
Mills.....	8
Hoggs.....	912

Fort de Chartres and St. Philippe were deserted except for three families at each place. Prairie du Rocher still had 25 families, and Cahokia, 60. Ste. Genevieve, in Spanish territory now, had grown to 70 families by the migration of the French from the British side of the river.⁷³

⁷³ Alvord and Carter, *The New Regime*, 460.

CHAPTER IV

LIFE IN THE VILLAGE

HALF A CENTURY or more separated life in the Illinois country from life in the villages of old France. In a sense, it was half a century ahead, with the Revolution already in the past. The traders who founded Kaskaskia had been born in Canada; they were pioneers, the sons of pioneers, independent and self-sufficient. And if the government that ruled them seemed autocratic in comparison with the government of their English neighbors, that autocracy was more apparent than real. In the wilderness, they acknowledged no lord; in the village they made their own law. When they disobeyed the commandant, which was frequently, threats of imprisonment hardly worried them, escape was so simple a matter. They were scarcely more concerned that the priests might deny them the sacraments.

But everyday life was much the same as it had been in seventeenth century France when there had been little hint of the drastic economic and social changes that were to come. The habitant was content to live as his fathers had lived, to hunt and trap as they had in the north country, to cultivate the fertile bottom land with a primitive plow, to work the lead mines with shovel and pick, and at the end of the day, to gossip on the porch, to dance, or to have a mug of rum at the tavern.

Class distinctions, like the government's despotism, were mostly theoretical, and any line drawn was between the military officers, some of whom were of noble birth, and the habitants. Few persons came to Kaskaskia already well-to-do; a considerable number, prospering from the fur trade and the raising of wheat, acquired moderate wealth. Kaskaskia became a community of merchants and traders who supplied lower Louisiana with flour, meat, and bear oil, which could be had in abundance in Illinois, and who brought back from New Orleans luxuries as well as necessities.

Their houses varied little in style of architecture, and until the latter days of the French regime the home of the wealthiest merchant looked much like the home of the poorest *voyageur*. Inside there was hardly a greater difference, and what there was came more from the quantity of the furnishings than from their quality.

The kitchen, center of family life as it had been in Europe for centuries, was generally the only room that was heated unless the chimney was a double one in the middle of the house. On the hearth under the huge mantle of the fireplace stood the iron firedogs with their curved heads, the indispensable pothook, and the spit. Arranged nearby were the iron grill, the frying pans and pipkins, the copper and iron boilers and cauldrons.

On the mantel, to use when the fire was low and there was need for more light, stood crude iron lamps like the Betsey lamps of the American pioneers, lamps whose shape had changed little since Roman times. There were copper and wood candlesticks for holding the long tallow candles, and sometimes a pair of snuffers. On special occasions the habitant burned slender tapers made from the fine wax of the candleberry myrtle of Louisiana. There were also iron lanterns with pointed caps standing on the mantelpiece for use outside at night. And on pegs above the mantel rested the habitant's best guns; the powder horn, sometimes banded with silver, hung close by.

In the middle of the room stood the long, rectangular table made of walnut or oak from the Illinois forests. Ranged along the wall near the hearth were the chairs, most of them straight-backed and without arms, but usually there was one with arms for the head of the family. The small children sat on benches or heavy chests that were dragged across the floor to the table at mealtime. There were all fashions of chests, some elaborately carved, some with feet and some without, some bound with metal and some not, some with locks, and some with none. Three to six feet long, they held the habitant's valuables: his fine clothes, his trade goods, his money, his marriage contract, the title to his land, his notes, and his account books.

¶ Proudly displayed on a high sideboard or buffet stood the housewife's pewter and crockery. The earthenware plates with boldly colored flowers and cocks and human figures painted stiffly upon a brilliant enamel gave a gay aspect to the room. Glass tableware was rare; yet some habitants owned crystal, and silver, and even golden goblets. An honored guest in an Illinois home might sometimes be served with silver cups and bowls. Spoons were occasionally of silver, more often of pewter, while forks were usually of steel or iron. Table knives were not common, but the habitant's hunting knife served very well. ¶

The most cherished piece of furniture in the house was the bed. Frequently it was the only dowry of the Illinois bride, and the marriage contract carefully assured its ownership to the survivor of the union. Six feet or more square, the bed was furnished with a straw mattress and a thick feather bed, and curtained with hangings of green or red serge or, very rarely, of fine painted stuffs. When there were sheets, they were of linen or cotton, and before she retired at night, the habitant's wife might run a large wooden roller over them in order to make the bed perfectly smooth. Buffalo hides and coarse wool blankets served for covers; counterpanes were of calico, and sometimes of finer, flowered materials. The children of the household slept on cots, or three or four in a large bed; no doubt many slept on the floor, for only occasionally is more than one bed listed in an inventory.

A chest or so in the bedrooms, and an *armoire*, or wardrobe, completed the furnishings of the house. The wardrobe was a good-sized affair, often eight or ten feet wide and with as many as thirty-six shelves. It, like much of the other furniture, was of walnut or sometimes of poplar and cherry. It had two long, hinged doors and was used for storing clothing and other household goods.

Mirrors were rather scarce in Illinois homes, though most families possessed small mirrors "*à la toilette*"; in a few homes one would find larger, framed mirrors.

Some individuals, mainly officers and priests, owned watches or pocket sundials, but the ordinary habitant relied on the sun and the church bell to tell him the time of day.

So much for the all-over picture of the habitant's home. For the details, intimate and sometimes amusing, one has to study the inventories. That for the estate of the deceased Jacques Bourdon,¹ made July 1-5, 1723, by De la Loëre des Ursins in the presence of Father Beaubois and Monsieur Girardeau² is a good example:

1	walnut wardrobe
8	walnut chairs and 1 armchair
1	dresser with a buffet upon it
1	cot (<i>couchette</i>)
14	plates and 2 pewter dishes
17	glass bottles
1	copper candlestick and 1 pair of snuffers
1	pepper mill (<i>moulin à poivre</i>)
1	pewter saltcellar
1	old salting tub
2	frying pans
1	grill
1	pair of andirons
1	iron shovel
1	old hunting horn
1	spit
2	poor lanterns
3	trunks full of clothes and other merchandise
1	small box full of paper
1	pair of tailor's shears
1	bullet mold
1	pewter (or tin) syringe
1	iron ladle
14	guns and 1 musket

¹ Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, II.

² Jean Baptiste Girardeau. His wife was Céleste Thérèse Nepveu, with whom he made a marriage contract November 9, 1722. She was the daughter of Jacques Nepveu and Michelle Chauvin; her mother, her brother, Jean Michael, twenty years old, and her sisters, Elisabeth, thirteen, and Susanne, were all killed by Indians in 1722 as they were on their way down the Ohio to Illinois to make their home. Her father and a nine-year-old brother were taken prisoner. Only she and her sister, Marie Catherine, who evidently were not of the party, remained of the family. She had children by Girardeau; after his death, she married Louis du Tisné, son of Charles Claude du Tisné, Illinois commandant. They had three children; one, Louis, was baptized April 29, 1733. Her third husband was Pierre René Harpaine, Sieur de la Gauthrais, lieutenant. Their marriage contract was dated June 5, 1741. They later moved to New Orleans. *Régistre de la Paroisse*, Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, V.

2 miserable scythes
 4 hatchets
 2 adzes
 3 plates and 2 spoons of Spanish silver
 2 razor boxes with 2 razors in each and 2 hones
 200 gun flints
 9 dozen and 8 knives *à Chien de Corne*, 10 Flemish knives,
 2 woodcutter's knives
 40 pounds of lead balls
 20 pewter spoons
 1 comb
 16 large diaper linen napkins and 4 large tablecloths of the same
 4 old napkins
 1 box of grained leather decorated with silver nails with 3 pairs of
 spectacles, and another box also with 3 pairs of spectacles
 1 letter case
 1 dice box and 3 dice
 1 old four-legged table of black poplar
 2 silver cups
 2 cupboards of black walnut with 36 shelves, some 8 feet long
 and some 10 feet
 1 pair of pocket pistols
 1 old coarse blanket³
 3 cauldrons of red copper weighing 18 pounds
 2 yellow copper cauldrons weighing 3½ pounds
 1 cauldron weighing 14½ pounds
 1 cauldron weighing 12 pounds
 2 iron cooking pans
 4 Spanish vases full of oil
 2 Natchez earthenware jugs full of oil
 2 red copper cauldrons with lids, weighing 24½ pounds, full of bear oil
 2 old copper cauldrons
 2 old covered cauldrons
 1 old salting tub
 1 ladle
 3 chests
 2 barrels of powder weighing 100 pounds each

This next list comprises extracts from the list of the goods belonging to Charles Danis⁴ which were sold at an auction on September 21, 1724, after his death. A few prices are given.⁵

1 pie dish.....	66 francs
2 ladles.....	22 francs
4 spoons and 4 pewter forks.....	7 francs
8 steel forks.....	15 francs
2 small measures, 1 funnel	
1 crockery plate	
2 basins	
2 chairs, 1 armchair	
25 pots of oil	

³ Literally "dog's hair blanket."

⁴ Charles Danis had three wives; his last was the Indian, Dorothée, who became Louis Turpin's second wife. Danis died on July 17, 1724, at the age of forty-one. His children were Marie Anne, baptized October 4, 1718, who married Philippe Chauvin and died before June, 1747; Charles Pierre, baptized January 30, 1720; and Michael, who married Marie Barbe Pilet on June 29, 1745. ⁵ Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, I.

In an inventory⁶ of September, 1723:

- 1 bed with 1 feather bed and 2 buffalo robes
- 2 pairs of bed curtains containing altogether 10 ells
- 1 pair of bed curtains of brown stuff, 10 ells
- 4 tablecloths of coarsely woven material
- 5 napkins, 4 of them of Rouen linen and 1 of diaper linen
- 3 iron cauldrons, 1 of five or six pots, 1 of one pot, and the other of one pot without a cover
- 1 red copper cauldron
- 1 large iron frying pan
- 1 spit
- 2 kitchen andirons, of iron
- 1 candlestick with its snuffer
- 1 iron shovel
- 1 black walnut table
- 4 wooden baskets
- 1 iron lamp
- 2 iron spoons
- 1 glass bottle
- 2 pairs of scissors

An inventory⁷ made November 3, 1745, included among other items:

- 1½ dozen diaper napkins
- 1 dozen diaper tablecloths
- 1 dozen dinner covers of silver
- 1 large silver ladle and 1 child's silver spoon
- 1 crockery salad dish
- 2 silver snuff boxes
- 1 square table to seat twelve persons
- 1 cotton blanket, 1 wool blanket
- 2 mirrors, one large, the other small
- 6 crystal goblets
- 1 silver bowl
- 1 crockery pot

Marie Catherine Baron,⁸ when she died in July, 1748, owned:⁹

- 14 napkins
- 4 linen tablecloths, one of diaper linen, and two of Beaufort linen
- 3 window curtains of brown linen
- 2 chests and 1 valise well bound and closed with a lock
- 2 caskets closed with locks and covered with red copper
- 3 calico window curtains
- 1 bed furnished with a straw mattress, a pillow, a bolster, a calico counterpane, a feather bed, a green wool blanket
- 1 cot
- 1 large framed mirror
- 1 hunting knife, 1 silver pistol
- 1 small cupboard with 6 wine bottles
- 1 old chest closed with a lock
- 2 silver goblets
- 2 crystal goblets
- 1 bullet mold
- 1 armchair
- 1 square table with drawers

⁶ *Ibid.*, Public Papers, II.

⁸ See Appendix, p. 100.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Private Papers, IV.

⁹ Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, V.

20 plates, 1 large dish, 1 small dish, 1 pot
 14 iron forks, . . . (?) . . . dozen iron forks and dinner knives
 6 crockery plates
 1 small copper cauldron
 1 old pie dish, 1 small cauldron
 1 medium-sized frying pan, 1 grill, 1 fork to draw food from the pot
 2 medium-sized pans
 2 pails hooped with iron
 1 small cauldron
 1 pothook with iron chain
 1 old wardrobe
 6 plates and 1 dish, 6 spoons, 1 small bowl, 1 covered bowl weighing
 about 11 pounds, 6 forks
 1 frying pan
 2 medium-sized pans and 1 small pan
 1 silver goblet
 1 small pan of yellow copper, 1 pail
 8 napkins, 1 tablecloth of Beaufort linen
 2 caskets covered with red copper
 1 small framed mirror
 1 cauldron holding about 40 pots

François Bastien,¹⁰ a habitant of Prairie du Rocher, left these household goods, according to the inventory¹¹ made June 10, 1763:

3 buffalo robes, 3 pillows, 1 cot
 1 bed, 1 robe, 1 coarse wool blanket, 1 pillow
 1 feather bed covered with ticking
 1 of the same
 1 old chest
 1 old salting tub furnished with 2 iron hoops, 1 two-minot measure,
 1 half-minot measure, 1 small barrel with 4 iron hoops
 1 buffet with its dishes
 1 buffet with its dishes, and with two shelves closed by four hinged doors
 1 small wine cupboard with 12 small bottles
 1 pair of small scales
 1 large iron cooking pan
 30 pots of oil
 2 medium-sized cooking pans of iron
 2 more of the same, 1 large iron pan
 2 guns
 28 pounds of tobacco
 1 frying pan, 1 ladle, 1 iron fork, 1 tin funnel
 1 crockery pot, 1 crockery bowl, 6 plates of the same, 3 earthenware
 dishes, 1 chamber pot
 12 pewter plates, 1 large pewter dish, 2 small basins, 1 bowl,
 5 pewter spoons, 6 pewter forks
 2 copper candlesticks
 1 small cauldron of yellow copper, 1 of red copper, 1 grill

The day in Kaskaskia, as in Canada, began at sunup, with breakfast between seven and eight o'clock. Dinner at noon was the principal meal of the day; then there were fresh meats — boiled, roasted, fricassee, or stewed — soup with bread swimming in it, fruit preserves, tiny round cheeses and sweetened milk. Meat pies were great favorites; on Fridays

¹⁰ See Appendix, p. 114.

¹¹ Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, V.

and Saturdays and other fast days, fish or milk dishes took the place of the meat. Stew was served in a large bowl, *à la gamelle*, and set in the center of the table where everyone dipped in with spoon and fork and sturdy slice of bread. Vegetables of all kinds were raised in the kitchen garden and served on the habitant's table — cabbages, peas, beans, carrots, turnips and parsnips. Cucumbers were sliced and eaten with salt, served raw in cream, or cooked in milk. Radishes were creamed; onions were sliced raw on bread and eaten at all meals. Pumpkins were roasted in the fireplace and served with sugar, or boiled and their pulp made into pies or crusty yellow bread.

Bread-making was one of the household's biggest tasks, for although there were bakers in town their main business came from supplying biscuit to the troops and the *voyageurs*, and most of Kaskaskia's bread was homemade. While the huge stone oven heated, the cook kneaded the dough that had been mixed the night before and shaped it into long oval loaves. When the fire had burned to coals and the oven floor mopped with cold water, the bread was laid in on long wooden paddles and the two doors tightly closed. Small loaves baked in about two hours; larger ones took as long as four.

Butter was made by beating sour cream with a fork; churns were unknown in the Illinois country. Sugar the French made from maple syrup, and they made salt by evaporating water from the salt springs southwest of the village on the far bank of the Mississippi.

Washday in Kaskaskia was the same as it had been for thousands of years in riverside villages the world over. Clothes were dipped in the shallow water of the stream, scrubbed on the beach, and pounded with short-handled paddles. The soap, naturally, was homemade; whatever fine perfumed French soap the habitant might have was a luxury and not to be wasted on the laundry. Some women and widows took in washings. At Fort de Chartres at one time Renée Drouin¹² was engaged for a year by the commandant to launder the linen and bandages of the sick in the fort hospital. Her wages were to be 140 livres in merchandise at the price of New Orleans.¹³

There was one task that the women of the Illinois country did not share with their pioneer sisters in the English colonies. Weaving was prohibited by the government,¹⁴ and all cloth had to be purchased either from the king's storehouse or from the merchants who brought it up the river from the sea. For that reason the dress of those who could afford it was frequently much finer than one would expect in a wilderness trading post.

¹² In 1740 she was the wife of one La Ferne. In 1759 she was the widow of Charles Hervy, a sergeant of the troops. See Appendix, p. 102.

¹³ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, V, November 27, 1740.

¹⁴ In no inventory is a spinning wheel or a loom listed. The translation of an item in the Jesuit inventory, as given by Alvord, to read "weaving room" is incorrect.

The distinguishing garment of the habitant was the capot, a knee-length hooded jacket belted at the waist with a sash. A shirt of cotton or wool, knee-length breeches, long wool stockings, and soft-soled leather shoes completed his everyday costume. In the summer he wrapped a handkerchief, turban-like about his head, and in the woods he wore a fringed leather shirt and a brightly colored, tasseled cap.

The dress of his wife and daughters was simple enough: a sleeveless bodice over a short-sleeved waist, ankle-length skirt and Indian moccasins, but it was as gay as it was simple—bodices of red and blue stuffs, waists of flowered muslin, skirts of scarlet drugget and printed calico, and stiff white caps for church. This is the picture historians have given us of the French-Canadian dress. Doubtless it is correct in regard to everyday costume, but the inventories among the Kaskaskia Manuscripts tell another story. And when one studies these lists it is well to remember just what a remote community Kaskaskia was, how its streets were unpaved and in wet weather as muddy as only rich bottom-land soil can be, and how, for more than half of its existence, most of its citizens lived in log houses.

Once again the inventory¹⁵ of Jacques Bourdon furnishes good examples. Among his belongings, Des Ursins found:

- 1 new piece of limbourg, containing 16 ells
- 1 piece of red limbourg, 18 ells
- 1 piece of red limbourg, 17 ells, moth-eaten
- 1 piece of blue limbourg, 17½ ells
- 1 piece of red limbourg, 10 and ½ ells
- 1 piece of red limbourg, 8 ells
- 1 piece of red limbourg, 16¼ ells
- 1 piece of red limbourg, 10 ells
- 1 piece of red limbourg, 3 ells
- 1 piece of blue limbourg, 18 ells
- 1 piece of blue limbourg, 15 ells
- 1 piece of white Crezeau of 3 ells, 10 pieces of limbourg containing
altogether 139 ells
- 25 ells of brown linen
- 9½ ells of Nely (?)
- 16 ells of *étoffe à negre*
- 6½ ells of the same

IN AN OLD CHEST

- 1 old dress coat of taffeta with buttons of silver wire and a jacket of silk
- 1 old waistcoat of limbourg
- 1 old capot of calmande
- 1 old waistcoat of legging material, with sleeves
- 10 shirts
- 1 pair of breeches of *basin*¹⁶
- 1 pair of stockings
- 1 old pair of linen breeches
- 1 night cap
- 1 hat of Dauphiné

¹⁵ Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, II.

¹⁶ Woolen cloth woven on a cotton woof.

IN ANOTHER CHEST

- 1 old capot of red camelot¹⁷
- 1 old belt of damask
- 1 old calico jacket
- 10 old shirts
- 1 old pair of wool stockings
- 1 old muslin neckerchief
- 1 old cloak of camelot

In the goods of the officer, Sieur Franchomme,¹⁸ according to the inventory¹⁹ made March 15, 1725, there were:

- 1 old linen habit
- 4 old pairs of breeches
- 1 wool bonnet
- several braids of sewing cotton
- 6 old pairs of stockings
- 2 old pairs of breeches
- 2 old jackets, 1 pair of breeches

Marie Françoise Rivard, widow of Joseph Lamy,²⁰ in 1725 paid St. Ange 800 livres in peltries for a complete outfit of a rose-colored taffeta dress, pair of silk stockings, anklets, slippers and mitts.²¹

An inventory²² of the next year included items such as these:

- 17 ells of calico at 12 francs the ell
- 42 and $\frac{1}{3}$ ells of calamande at the same price
- 4 and $\frac{1}{3}$ ells of striped cotton cloth at 16 francs
- 30 cotton handkerchiefs, 10 francs each
- 1 pair of woman's shoes, embroidered with silver, 18 livres

After the disastrous Chickasaw campaign of 1736 in which so many Illinois soldiers and habitants died, there were quite a few sales of the belongings of those who had been killed. Most of them were made at Fort de Chartres on June 23, 1737. This is an extract from the sale²³ of the goods of Antoine Tonti, officer of the troops:

1 hat of half beaver, embroidered with silver	
1 regulation outfit	
1 dress coat and jacket of coffee-colored material.....	66 livres
1 old dress coat and jacket of grey cloth.....	28 livres
1 old dress coat and breeches of camelot.....	23 livres
1 pair of silk stockings with clocking	
2 ells of batiste ²⁴	20 livres

¹⁷ Cheap woolen goods.

¹⁸ Killed in a detachment sent out under Des Liettes from Fort de Chartres against the Fox Indians. ANC C13A 11:113.

¹⁹ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, I.

²⁰ Son of Isaac Lamy and Marie Madeleine de Cheuraineville, baptized at Sorel August 21, 1685. He was the father of Joseph, born August 26, 1723, at Kaskaskia and married in Montreal February 7, 1746, to Françoise Jodoïn. Another child was Françoise who married Charles Jannot de La Chapelle February 12, 1743. The elder Joseph was a churchwarden of Kaskaskia. He was killed "two steps" from the village, March 15, 1725, with La Vigne. Both men were buried under their respective benches in the parish church.

²¹ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, I.

²² *Ibid.*, Public Papers, II.

²³ *Ibid.*, Public Papers, I.

²⁴ Fine white linen, closely woven.

Sold the same day²⁵ from the estate of Lieutenant Desgly were:

1 hat of half beaver	42 livres
13 small cotton pocket handkerchiefs	
5 pairs of stockings	62 livres
5 shirts	60 livres
1 pair of silk stockings, 2 ells of linen	46 livres 10 s.
7 or 8 muslin collars, several pairs of slippers, 1 linen vest	26 livres 10 s.
6 ells of cotton cloth	62 livres
4 ells of striped cloth of Couty	80 livres

Pierre Messager, merchant and lead miner, frequently was commissioned by one or another habitant to buy clothing in New Orleans. Just before the convoy set out for lower Louisiana in May, 1740, he signed an agreement with Pierre Bouvier to bring back in the fall one complete outfit of *camelot sur soye* — a dress coat, waistcoat, two pair of breeches, one fine hat of half beaver, four shirts of the finest batiste, one pair of silk stockings in a color suitable to wear with the outfit. And in case Messager was unable to get *camelot sur soye*, Bouvier would be satisfied with *camelot du drap*.²⁶

Alphonse de la Buissonniere, commandant at Illinois from 1737 until his sudden death in December, 1740, was described as a poor man by the governor of Louisiana. Those who inventoried his possessions²⁷ on December 12, 1740, found:

25 shirts	
2 pieces of Brittany linen	
4 trimmed shirts	
1 piece of silk	
2 pairs of embroidered woman's shoes	
7 shirts	
1 piece of <i>toile royale</i>	
3 pieces of muslin	
85 new, trimmed men's shirts	
1 piece of silver cloth	
8 ells of molleton ²⁸	
6 ells of white serge	
8 ells of striped silk	
2 pieces of diaper linen	
1 great coat of bouracan ²⁹ with gold lace and buttons	
1 pair of breeches of scarlet cloth	
1 dress coat and 1 waist coat both trimmed with wide gold ribbon	
1 dress coat of English drugged and 1 pair of brown breeches	
1 dress coat of rose-colored silk trimmed with wide gold ribbon	
1 multi-colored belt	
2 pairs of white silk stockings	
12 pairs of men's stockings, 6 silk, 6 cotton	
2 hats embroidered with gold; one has a white feather, the other a black feather	

²⁵ Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, I. ²⁶ *Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, IV.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Private Papers, III.

²⁸ Woolen cloth made at Molton, England.

²⁹ A coarse woolen cloth.

3 hats embroidered with gold
 1 redingote with its hood
 1 dress coat of mazamet³⁰
 30 muslin shirts, trimmed
 9 pieces of wide ribbon of divers colors
 9 pieces of calico

Again from the inventory³¹ of the estate of Madame Baron, cited previously:

1 capot, jacket and breeches.....	60 livres
1 capot of cadiz and 1 black jacket.....	40 livres
2 jackets of cholet (?), 1 capot of limbourg.....	25 livres
1 capot of cadiz adorned with silver lace, 1 waistcoat of red camelot adorned with silver lace and with silver buttons..	60 livres
1 purse and 1 hat of half beaver	20 livres
1 wool belt, 1 pair of gloves.....	4 livres
3 pairs of breeches, one of cotton, one of <i>basin</i> , one of cadiz.....	15 livres
4 chemises	40 livres
2 chemises of Beaufort linen.....	20 livres
1 dressing gown, 1 taffeta petticoat, 1 cotton dress, 1 calico dress.....	220 livres
1 pair of silver buckles.....	

Silver buckles, silver buttons, silver and gold lace — these are mentioned in nearly every inventory. Perhaps before we stop, we ought to look at one more,³² this time dated 1747:

3 cotton skirts, 3 calico aprons.....	90 livres
2 aprons, one of double calamande, the other of double satin ..	35 livres
9 chemises	200 livres
12 of the same.....	150 livres
8 skirts and 5 child's aprons.....	50 livres
9 aprons and 6 skirts, 1 child's corset.....	100 livres
2 gauze ³³ infant's caps.....	
1 white cotton dress, 1 rose-colored quilted skirt of calico, 2 rose-colored calico skirts.....	100 livres
3 calico dresses and 3 calico skirts.....	100 livres
2 aprons, 1 corset.....	30 livres
28 skirts for children of all sizes.....	150 livres
1 pair of woman's silk stockings	
1 cap of black gauze.....	

It may be an exaggeration to say with the early historians of Illinois that Kaskaskia was the "Versailles of the West"; but it is also an exaggeration to paint the settlement as a rough frontier village. No community could be that if its women wore satin and taffeta gowns and embroidered slippers with silver buckles, its men red silk breeches, fine linen shirts and silk stockings, or if its children were laced in corsets. One does wonder, however, what La Buissonniere did with so many shirts, shirts obviously much better than trade shirts.

³⁰ Name of a town in France, department of Tarn, in which there were woolen cloth factories. Mazamet was a cloth similar to molleton.

³¹ Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, V.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Soft and transparent linen or silk cloth.

CHAPTER V

MAKING A LIVING

THE ILLINOIS HABITANT was a farmer and a fur trader. Sometimes he was also a carpenter, a smith, or a tailor, but even then he was first of all a tiller of the soil. And when the crops were in and there was no work for his tools or his needle, he left farming to his wife and hired himself out to one of the village merchants to carry trade goods to the Indians. A fur trader he wanted to be for the wealth he might gain, a farmer he had to be in order that the Illinois country could become the granary of Louisiana.

In the common fields of Kaskaskia south and west of the settlement, each habitant owned, or rented from a fellow farmer, a ribbon of land extending from the banks of the Mississippi to the pasture fence. Some held grants in the prairie east of the Kaskaskia River which ran back as far as the hills edging the River Ste. Marie. Most of these strips seem not to have been wider than one or two arpents in front, but on account of the meandering of the Mississippi and the Kaskaskia, where one farm of two arpents front contained only 90 acres, another next to it, of the same width, might include 150 or more. Mississippi floods annually lessened the acreage of the original grants, especially at Fort de Chartres and St. Philippe. There, by 1760, the French who had been given land in 1722 or as late as 1734 had lost half or more of it to the new river channel.¹

No fences but only a double furrow divided one field from another. Barns, though sometimes built on the habitant's land inside the town limits, were usually erected either on the commons or on this cultivated land. They were of a good size, larger than many of the houses, but of similar construction — posts in the ground, thatched roofs and a single story in height. Urban Gervais' barn at Prairie du Rocher was 80 by 35 by 14 feet.² A few had stone barns. There were other smaller structures, some of them windmills, some of them tenant houses, dotting the fields. Jean Baptiste Crély, a cooper, in June, 1748, hired Pierre la Bonté, master mason, to build a house on Crély's land east of the Kaskaskia. It was to be of stone, 19 feet square, 22 feet high, with two lean-to's, one at each gable end, and a wooden porch on all four sides.³

Farm tools were extremely primitive. The same kind of a wooden plow that first turned the sod at Kaskaskia in 1710 was being used by the habitant's descendants a century later. And supercilious Americans were

¹ These French grants, insofar as they could be determined by government surveyors in 1800, are shown in maps in vol. 2 of *American State Papers, Public Lands*.

² Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, III. ³ *Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, VII.



AGRICULTURAL AND BUILDING IMPLEMENTS

1, Cart. 2, Large cart. 3, Plow. 4, Wooden cylinder. 5, Clod breaker. 6, Tumbril. 7, Handbarrow. 8, Wheelbarrow. 9, Spade. 10, Pick-axe. 11, Hoe. 12, Mattock. 13, Pike. 14, Harrow. 15, Scythe. 16, Hand anvil. 17, Sickle. 18, Rake. 19, Flail. 20, Fan. 21, Winnowing basket. 22, Hand sieve. 23, Foot sieve. 24, Saw. 25, Iron fork. 26, Wooden hook. 27, Wooden fork. 28, Simple ladder. 29, Double ladder. 30, Wooden shovel. 31, Hammer. 32, Mallet. 33, Pincers. 34, Center bit. 35, Auger. 36, Gimlet. 37, Pruning hook. 38, Axe. 39, Hatchet. 40, Thistle hook. 41, Instrument for cutting branches. 42, Pincers. 43, Shears. 44, Cutting implement. 45, Similar tools. (From *La Nouvelle Maison Rustique*).

much amused to see the oxen yoked by their horns. The harrow was a triangular affair of wood, its two long sides each about six feet in length, while the third was about four feet; its teeth, also of wood, were around five inches long. Harvesting was accomplished with scythe and sickle; threshing was done with a wooden flail.

The habitant never fertilized his fields, tilled them carelessly, frequently lost entire crops by flood or drouth, and still produced enough grain year after year to send large quantities down the river to the settlements of lower Louisiana. In seasons when hurricanes destroyed crops in the south, Illinois flour had to feed the whole colony.

Wheat and maize were the principal grains raised. Wheat grew easily on the fertile bottom land, but the yield was far below that for Indian corn. Writing in 1752, Father Vivier, the priest of the village, reported that while as a rule wheat yielded only fivefold to eightfold, maize "yields a thousandfold." The fogs, sudden heats, and indifferent cultivation which the Jesuit blamed for the poor wheat crops, apparently had no harmful effects on the maize, and the country produced three times as much food as it could use.⁴

Some idea of the amount of wheat cultivated each year in the Illinois country can be gained from contracts made by Illinois merchants with the government to supply flour to the storehouses of the colony, and from the reports on the annual convoys which came down to New Orleans each spring.

In 1731, with flour selling at 25 livres a quintal, more than a hundred thousandweight came down from Illinois.⁵ In 1736 contracts with Kaskaskia merchants set the price of flour at 21 livres a hundredweight. On January 5, François la Croix agreed to furnish 2,715 pounds to the storehouse at Natchez in June.⁶ On May 25 he contracted to deliver to the post of the Arkansas 6,000 pounds.⁷ June 1 of the same year, Joseph Dulude promised to furnish 7,924 pounds of flour to Natchez⁸ and Thomas Chauvin bound himself to deliver 5,905 pounds there.⁹

But crops that year, promising so well, were attacked "by a sort of a ground bug that had eaten them and wasted them in such a way" that the harvest was poor. The corn crop was totally ruined.¹⁰ So when the convoy reached New Orleans early in June, 1737, it brought only 40 thousandweight of flour, not a fourth of the usual amount. Six thousandweight had been left at Arkansas, twenty-seven at Natchez.¹¹

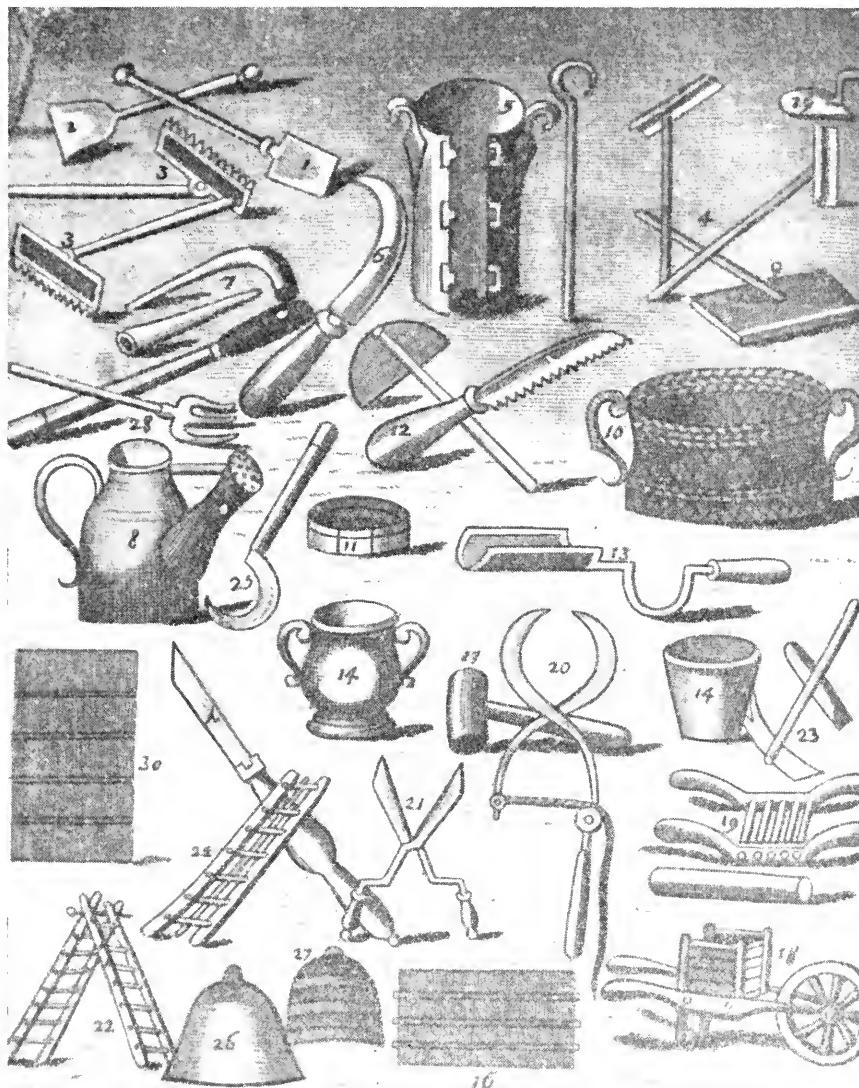
Letters from Illinois in the summer of 1737 reported abundant crops with about a hundred thousand pounds of flour available.¹² How much of this came down by the first convoy the next spring is not recorded, but

⁴ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXIX, 210. ⁵ ANC B57:817v-818; C13A 13:46-54.

⁶ Records of the Superior Council, *La. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, 147. ⁷ *Ibid.*, 290.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 293. ⁹ *Ibid.*, V, 381. ¹⁰ *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 329.

¹¹ ANC C13A 22:194. ¹² *Ibid.*, 23:52.



TOOLS AND UTENSILS

1, Spade. 2, Shovel. 3, Rake. 4, Scrapers. 5, Trowel. 6, Pruning knife. 7, Planting tools. 8, Watering pots. 9, Turf beetle. 10, Flowerbasket. 11, Garden sieve. 12, Saw. 13, Garden trowel. 14, Glass pots. 15, Beater. 16, Straw mat. 17, Mallet. 18, Wheelbarrow. 19, Handbarrow. 20, Instrument for destroying caterpillar-infested branches. 21, Garden shears. 22, Ladders. 23, Pick-axes. 24, Small picks. 25, Pruning hook. 26, Bell glass. 27, Bell glass of straw. 28, Iron fork. 29, Trowel. 30, Screen. (From *La Nouvelle Maison Rustique*).

the second one arriving May 29, 1738, at New Orleans brought from fifty to sixty thousandweight.¹³

The harvest of 1738 was poor;¹⁴ however, by the end of the year 1739, 12,000 pounds of flour had been sent from Illinois to provision the troops engaged against the Chickasaw.¹⁵ Six hundredweight of Illinois flour was received in lower Louisiana in 1740.¹⁶ An abundant harvest in 1741¹⁷ was followed by a very poor one the next year, when continual rains prevented the French from gathering more than enough for their own use.¹⁸

The year 1745 had another lean crop,¹⁹ with a much better one the succeeding year,²⁰ and an even greater one in 1747.²¹ Convoys carried down to the Gulf, in the spring of 1748, 800,000 pounds of flour.²² But disaster overtook the Illinois grain fields again in 1748, and the harvest that summer was "très mauvaise."²³ The crops were poor in 1750; in 1752 no rain fell for three months, the marshes dried up, and the Kaskaskia river would scarcely float the smallest pirogue. As a result the larger part of the corn was lost, which, in Macarty's words, was "a great misfortune to the country for pork." Rust had attacked the wheat, and the kernels were smaller than usual, but nevertheless, the barns were full and stacks had to be made of it, for the whole crop could not be put under cover.²⁴ That same year Macarty reported that the fields on the Illinois side were worn out, and most of the habitants were taking up land around Ste. Genevieve. He suggested that more land could be assigned in the commons without crowding the cattle, but that the French had opposed such a move while Bertet was commandant.²⁵

Cattle, supposedly introduced by the Jesuits about 1712, were kept by the habitant to draw his plow and his two-wheeled carts and to supply him with meat and milk. They were undoubtedly the most useful animals he owned, and poor indeed was the Frenchman of Illinois who did not possess at least one cow. In 1721, according to L'Allemand whose visit to Kaskaskia has been previously mentioned, there were a hundred *bêtes à cornes*.²⁶ In 1752 the census-taker listed 757 oxen, 714 cows, 408 bull calves, and 349 heifers in the whole of the country. At Kaskaskia there were 320 oxen, 331 cows, 147 bull calves, and 145 heifers.²⁷

That these numbers must only have been estimates and probably far under the actual figures, a letter by Father Vivier testifies:

The working animals graze on a vast common around the village; others, in much larger numbers, which are intended for breeding, are shut up throughout the year on a peninsula over ten leagues in extent, formed by the Mississippi and the river

¹³ *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 367.

¹⁴ ANC C13A 24:3-7, 128.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 25:22. ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, B74:623.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, B78:452; C13A 28:34.

¹⁹ *Surrey, Commerce of Louisiana*, 292.

²⁰ ANC C13A 30:71.

²¹ *Ibid.*, B87:15-15v.

²² *Du Pratz, Histoire*, I, 331.

²³ ANC C13A 33:115v.

²⁴ HMLO 399, October 7, 1752; *ibid.*, 376, September 2, 1752.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ ASH 115:10, no. 20.

²⁷ HMLO 426.

of the Tamaraos. These animals, which are seldom approached, have become almost wild, and artifice must be employed in order to catch them. If a habitant needs a pair of oxen, he goes to the peninsula. When he sees a bull large enough to be trained, he throws a handful of salt to him, and stretches out a long rope with a noose at the end; then he lies down. The animal which is eager for salt, draws near; as soon as its foot is in the noose, the man on the watch pulls the rope, and the bull is captured. The same is done for horses, calves and colts; this is all that it costs to get a pair of oxen or of horses. Moreover these animals are not subject to any diseases; they live a long time, and, as a rule, die only of old age.²⁸

It may have been from this half-wild herd that the Kaskaskia merchants obtained the 77 yoke of oxen and the 80 horses that they sold to the king in 1739 for the new fort on the St. François River.²⁹

Most of the habitants seem also to have owned horses. By the same census of 1752, of the 519 horses counted for the Illinois country, 346 belonged to the villagers of Kaskaskia.³⁰ When the horses they furnished Macarty for a detachment of soldiers returned so worn out that they were useless to their owners, Sieur Bové (Boré ?) and his friends, Charleville and Delisle, protested to Governor Vaudreuil. The soldiers, they declared, had been sent to hunt Indians, not game.³¹

Pigs were pigs in the Illinois country; they were the most numerous of all the animals. The 1752 census accounted for 1,582 of them, 814 of these being owned at Kaskaskia.³² But how many there really were no one probably ever knew, for they ran loose in the woods, and though they were branded with their owners' marks, they had to be hunted almost as wild beasts. A description by a later settler in the neighborhood, a German naturalist, gives an interesting picture of the habits of these hogs — a companion piece to Father Vivier's story of the oxen.

The deciduous oaks of the forest which lay between the prairies proper usually shed their leaves within a very short time, so as to litter the woods eight to ten inches deep with the dry leaves. A herd would choose its headquarters in a given spot, from which any strange hogs were vigorously and noisily repelled. Then toward evening would come the members of the herd, in a slow walk, each carrying a mouthful of leaves which was deposited on the outside of a gradually widening circle until a leaf bed some twenty inches high and twelve to twenty feet across would be formed. Then at dusk some ancient member of the herd would take the initiative of lying down in the center of the bed, often dislodging with noisy disapproval some impudent little pig which had taken its place prematurely. Then the rest would successively and gravely come marching in to lie down, but rarely in peace, as the choice places became the object of contention, with much violent grunting and squealing especially when some late-comers would undertake to walk over the previous occupants, sometimes calmly lying down on top and by their struggles gradually managing to sink down into a warm place, regardless of protests. The smaller pigs, however, would often be allowed to form a second, top layer over their mothers. In the early morning after a cold windy night, additional leaves would have drifted over the hog pile so that not a single animal was visible.³³

²⁸ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXIX, 220-221.

²⁹ *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 428.

³⁰ HMLO 426. ³¹ HMLO 414, December 9, 1752. ³² *Ibid.*, 426.

³³ Hilgaard, "Botanical Features of Illinois Prairies." Typescript in the Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois.

They lived on acorns and berries, and according to Professor Hilgaard, when they wanted hazelnuts or blackberries not ripe enough to drop off when shaken, and too high to be reached by standing on their hind feet, one hog would rear up and bend down the branches until its companion had eaten his fill. Then the first hog held the branches down while the second ate!³⁴

A few habitants owned neither land nor animals, but there were always ways to remedy that condition. There were farms owned by widows and minor heirs that could be rented for several years; and farms whose owners were off hunting or down at New Orleans that could be worked on shares for a season. Sometimes only barns or animals were rented. A half or a third of a mill was often leased, and for that matter, other buildings as well. As for example: Pierre Pilet *dit* La Sonde and his wife, Marie Madeleine Boisron, on November 7, 1724, leased for five years from Louis Turpin property in Kaskaskia consisting of half a barn, half a house, half a mill, two cows, two oxen trained to work, two bulls, a horse, a cart, an old plow, two scythes, three sickles and three arpents of land. The rent was eighty minots of wheat a year.³⁵

Étienne Guivremont³⁶ on August 18, 1725, rented from Jacques Lalande³⁷ land situated on the Point, north of Kaskaskia, land in the prairie of the Kaskaskia Indians, a house in the village, and a barn forty feet long. In the barn were four oxen, two cows, four middle-sized pigs, sixty minots of wheat, a new cart with iron-shod wheels, another cart, two scythes and six sickles. The rental was fifty minots of corn and fifty minots of wheat yearly; at the end of the third year the sixty minots of wheat in the barn was to be repaid.³⁸

Rent was usually paid in grain, as in these two cases; sometimes it was paid in money. Antoine Dorval rented fifteen arpents of farm land from Pierre Blot at four francs an arpent.³⁹ As guardian of Joseph l'Ésperance, on February 24, 1738, Pierre de Monbrun⁴⁰ leased an arpent and a half of farm land fronting the Mississippi at Kaskaskia, a negro family of five, an ox, cow, some pigs, a cart, a plow, etc., for three years at 453 livres a year.⁴¹

Partnerships were common. An agreement of the usual type was one made September 19, 1740, between Louis Lefèvre *du* Chouquet of Kaskaskia and Pierre Limbé, a laborer, ordinarily living at Montreal. Limbé was to work with Du Chouquet in cultivating his land for two years, the

³⁴ Hilgaard, "Botanical Features of Illinois Prairies," Typescript in the Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois. ³⁵ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, I.

³⁶ Son of Jean Guivremont and Marie Madeleine Charpentier of Champlain, and widower of Marie Olivier. He made a marriage contract April 11, 1736, with Marie Louise Cardinal, widow of Nicolas Millet and daughter of the late Jacques Cardinal and Louise. Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, II. ³⁷ See Appendix, p. 112.

³⁸ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, I.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, III, February 26, 1730.

⁴⁰ See Appendix, p. 93.

⁴¹ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, VII, February 24, 1748.

latter furnishing the tools, a negro, and Limbé's laundry. At the end of the term, two-thirds of the profits were to belong to Du Chouquet, the other third to Limbé.⁴² Provisions of the partnership between Étienne Lalande and Laurent Perrico *dit* Olivier, entered into December 19, 1748, stipulated that Olivier was to farm the land given Lalande by Joseph Courtois for two years, the profits to be divided into thirds, one-third going to Lalande, one-third to Olivier, and the last third being itself divided into thirds, of which Lalande would take two-thirds and Olivier the remaining third.⁴³

A considerable amount of the farm work was done by negro slaves; there was but one drawback here, the lack of enough slaves. The French were forever begging the government to send more negroes and were always refused. Philippe Renault was promised by the Company of the Indies that they would send him 25 negroes annually to work the mines; it appears that even these were not sent, but according to a report written in Paris in 1724, the Superior Council of Louisiana did send 50 negroes in that summer upon his promise to return to the Company 15,000 pounds of lead the following May.⁴⁴

Negroes were valuable property anywhere in Louisiana during the French regime; they were particularly so in Illinois. Antoine Beauisseron, dying in the spring of 1726, left one negro, one negress and their two children, one about four or five years old, the other eight or nine months, the family together worth 4,000 livres. A second family appraised at the same value consisted of a man and his wife who was dangerously ill, and two children aged three or four years and one-and-a-half years.⁴⁵ Antoine Bienvenu bought a negro *pièce d'Inde* in 1733 for eleven thousand-weight of flour, a pirogue large enough to carry the flour, a covering for the pirogue and 25 hams.⁴⁶ La Chenais,⁴⁷ the baker of Kaskaskia, rented a negro for a year for 250 pounds of flour.⁴⁸ A slave family with two children which he had bought from the Company of the Indies, Jean Baptiste Saucier sold in 1737 to Joseph Déruisseaux for 2,000 livres in flour or beavers.⁴⁹ Chocolat, a slave belonging to the merchant, Jean Baptiste Richard, brought a price of 1,500 livres from Pierre Hulin, one-third paid in flour, one-third in hams, and one-third in card-money.⁵⁰ A boy ten years old was sold by Jean Baptiste la Source to Antoine

⁴² *Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, IV.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, VII.

⁴⁴ Banet's Report to the Company of the Indies, December 20, 1724. *La. Hist. Quart.*, XII, 121. ⁴⁵ Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, II. ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, II.

⁴⁷ Philippe la Chenais, baptized 1699; married at Montreal November 24, 1721, to Marguerite Texier. They were parents of Philippe, born and died, 1721; Charlotte Françoise, baptized February 11, 1725, married February 29, 1743, at Kaskaskia to Claude Caron; Louise, born and died, 1727; François, born and died, 1728; Jean Baptiste, baptized June 24, 1733, at Detroit; Catherine, born and died in Detroit, 1734; and Marie Anne, born and died in Detroit, 1735. Tanguay, V, 66; *Répertoire de la Paroisse*. ⁴⁸ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, II.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, III. ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, IV.

Peltier⁵¹ for 600 livres and a small Indian slave.⁵² Jean Baptiste St. Gemme Beauvais, who became the richest man in the Illinois country, in 1741 paid 5,000 livres to Jean Baptiste Becquet for a negro family of four; he paid 2,000 livres in January, 1742, in goods from the storehouse, 3,000 livres in merchandise the next April, and two minots of salt.⁵³ On May 11, 1750, he bought another negro for 1,600 livres from René de Couagne, Montreal merchant then at Kaskaskia.⁵⁴ In most of the inventories one or two negroes are mentioned, sometimes only children, so it seems fair to surmise that most Illinois households owned one slave. None of them possessed a great many.

That negroes were comparatively well treated goes without saying, without any more evidence than that of the high prices paid for them. Their masters were bound by the *Code Noir* published for Louisiana in 1724, which they appear to have interpreted liberally. Theft was punishable by flogging and branding and occasionally by death, but white thieves, in Illinois at least, received similar sentences. As far as the records go, only one negro was ever executed in the country. On August 29, 1725, Pierre Perico was convicted of having sealed the walls of Fort de Chartres eight times, of breaking into the magazine, and of stealing a large quantity of merchandise which he hid in a hollow cottonwood, and was accordingly condemned to be hanged.⁵⁵ When in 1748 the negress, Marie Jeanne, slave of Damoiselle Marie Vincennes, dismembered her newborn child and buried the pieces in Joseph Brazeau's garden, the judge sent the woman down to New Orleans to let the Superior Council decide her punishment.⁵⁶

If a slave struck any white person in the face hard enough to cause a bruise or to bring blood, the Code provided the death penalty. But the provincial council, sitting at Fort de Chartres on December 22, 1730, did not condemn Jean, slave belonging to the Texier estate, to death for wounding Sieur Bastien. Bastien demanded that Jean be hanged for his "insolence." Jean replied that Bastien had commenced the quarrel, and what was more, had received his injuries when he fell against the door. The negro was sentenced to apologize publicly, on his knees, and to be whipped three different days.⁵⁷ When one of their slaves had his arm broken by a villager, the Jesuits demanded compensation. Louis Métivier,⁵⁸ guardian of the Becquet minors, acted likewise when Sieur du Conadie, step-father of the children, mistreated one of their slaves to such an extent that he ran away and died of his injuries.⁵⁹

A few habitants were skilled artisans and had other tasks besides farming. Concerning their work there remains today scarcely any record

⁵¹ See Appendix, p. 94.

⁵² Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, IV.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, V.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, VIII.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Public Papers, I.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Private Papers, I.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Public Papers, I.

⁵⁸ See Appendix, p. 106.

⁵⁹ Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, I, March 3, 1741.

except their names. Jean Baptiste Marquis,⁶⁰ a blacksmith living in Kaskaskia, on September 14, 1740, entered into a partnership with Joseph Chauvin Charleville,⁶¹ a merchant, for three years. Chauvin was to feed and lodge the smith and provide the fuel for his forge; at the end of the period, Marquis was to deduct 300 livres from the profits, and divide the remainder equally with Chauvin.⁶² Étienne Gaudreau, master tool-maker, on February 20, 1739, agreed to furnish Louis Turpin "all and everything" from his forge of which Turpin would have the need in his house and in the cultivation of his land — spades, hoes, hatchets, plows, etc. — in return for 110 livres payable at the end of the year in card-money or flour.⁶³ Guns for the troops at Fort de Chartres were made at the forge of Jean Becquet, who was hired by De La Loëre on March 30, 1737.⁶⁴ Louis Normand *dit* La Briere, another Kaskaskia smith, agreed on January 25, 1737, to supply Dominique Quesnel, master gunsmith, 30 hoes in return for the loan of an anvil for a year.⁶⁵ And Philippe la Chenais, the baker, furnished the biscuit for two *voyageurs* on their trip to New Orleans; they provided the flour.⁶⁶

As for the other craftsmen we shall have to be content merely to know that they followed their trades in the Illinois. This is a fairly complete list of the men whose names appear scattered throughout the Kaskaskia records. The dates are those of the documents in which the names are found.

Philippe Bienvenu,⁶⁷ carpenter, 1724.

Pierre Danis,⁶⁸ mason, 1724.

Antoine Pellé *dit* La Plume, sawyer, Fort de Chartres, 1725.

Jean Baptiste le Compte, master smith, Fort de Chartres, 1725.

Jean Baptiste Becquet,⁶⁹ locksmith, Fort de Chartres. On October 17, 1725, he sold his smithy to Étienne Louce, another locksmith, for 700 livres, and apparently moved to Kaskaskia, 1725.

Mathurin Charant, carpenter, Fort de Chartres. September 30, 1727.

Nicolas Imbert, locksmith, Fort de Chartres. August 9, 1729.

René Grudé,⁷⁰ shingler, Kaskaskia, 1730.

Métivier, carpenter of Illinois. August 23, 1731.

Jean Baptiste Portier (Potier),⁷¹ master joiner, Kaskaskia. October 1, 1731.

⁶⁰ See Appendix, p. 80.

⁶¹ "Écuyer, *Juge de Paix, habitant*" of Kaskaskia. *Abstracts of Kaskaskia Marriage Contracts*, 31. See Appendix, p. 87. ⁶² Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, IV.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, III. ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, VI.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, VI. ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, VII.

⁶⁷ Founder of the Illinois family of that name. See footnote 101, p. 63. A widower, he married Marie Foret (?) June 6, 1724.

⁶⁸ Married Simone Marie Martin, widow of Claude Illeret, January 4, 1724.

⁶⁹ See Appendix, p. 106.

⁷⁰ Native of Louplande, diocese of Mans; on April 11, 1725, at the age of thirty-nine, he married Anne Marie Deble, native of the village of Alber (?) in Germany. *Régitre de la Paroisse*.

⁷¹ Husband of Françoise la Brise. He was dead by April 27, 1735, and his widow married Joseph Buchet, but died herself by 1740. Jean Baptiste Potier and Françoise were parents of Marie Françoise, baptized November 10, 1717, and married Jean François Dielle (Guelle); Jacques, baptized February 2, 1721, died September 5, 1723; Jeanne, baptized January, 1726, married in October, 1740, to Jacques Millet; Jean Baptiste, baptized March 3, 1715; Marie Catherine, baptized June 18, 1719, married Joseph Moreau; Toussaint, baptized November 22, 1723, married Catherine Delessart in 1745 (she died December 7 and he December 10, 1746); Louis, married Renée (?), daughter of Grégoire Kiercereau, February 1, 1752. Joseph Potier, who died December 5, 1746, aged twenty-one, may have been another son. *S. 24 p. 72, no. 228410.*

Jean Baptiste Marquis,⁷² master smith, Prairie du Rocher. June 7, 1733.

Jean Chauvin,⁷³ master tool-maker, Kaskaskia. 1733.

Dominique Quesnel,⁷⁴ gunsmith, Kaskaskia. January 25, 1737.

Charles Pepin, master mason, Kaskaskia. May, 1737.

Mercier,⁷⁵ blacksmith, Cahokia. June 23, 1737.

Antoine Roland, master wig-maker. December 8, 1737.

Joseph Bissonet (?), smith, aged twenty years, Kaskaskia. 1739.

Louis Boré,⁷⁶ master joiner, Kaskaskia. 1739.

Jerome Javoine (?), carpenter, aged forty years. 1739.

Joseph Mercier,⁷⁷ locksmith, Fort de Chartres. 1739.

Étienne Gaudreau, master tool-maker, Kaskaskia. 1739.

Eustache Moreau,⁷⁸ master mason, Kaskaskia. March 2, 1739.

Jean Baptiste Aubuchon,⁷⁹ master carpenter, Kaskaskia. March 10, 1739.

Jean François Dielle,⁸⁰ carpenter, Kaskaskia. December 28, 1739.

Charles Huet *dit Dulude*,⁸¹ gunsmith, Kaskaskia. 1740.

Louis Normand *dit La Briere*,⁸² smith, Kaskaskia. 1740.

Jacques Marinaro, smith, ordinarily living at Beauport. Bought land of Gaudreau in Kaskaskia and entered partnership with him. October 25, 1740.

Grégoire Kierecereau *dit Gregoire*,⁸³ miller, Fort de Chartres. January 25, 1741.

Jean Baptiste Gouin *dit Champagne*,⁸⁴ blacksmith, Fort de Chartres. January 25, 1741.

Nicolas Marechal,⁸⁵ master turner, Fort de Chartres. December 15, 1741.

Jean Baptiste la . . . *dit Beaupré*, shingler, tavern-keeper, Kaskaskia. December 15, 1741.

Jean Baptiste la Riviere,⁸⁶ tailor. 1742.

François Corset *dit Coco*,⁸⁷ carpenter. 1743.

Jean Barbeau,⁸⁸ master joiner, Kaskaskia. April 18, 1743.

Raphael Beauvais,⁸⁹ carpenter, Kaskaskia. December 7, 1745.

Bernard Bouillon *dit La Joy*,⁹⁰ master mason, Kaskaskia. June 23, 1746.

Jean Baptiste Amiot, blacksmith, Fort de Chartres. July 2, 1746.

Jean Baptiste Deguire,⁹¹ tailor, Kaskaskia. October 9, 1747.

François Lalumandière *dit La Fleur*,⁹² tailor, Kaskaskia. February 24, 1748.

Louis Marcheteau *dit Desnoyers*,⁹³ master turner, Fort de Chartres. April 4, 1748.

⁷² See Appendix, p. 89.

⁷³ Son of Jacques Chauvin and Marie Cochons, he made a marriage contract with Agnes la Croix, daughter of François la Croix and Barbe Montmeunier, September 29, 1737. He had two brothers, Jacques and Thomas.

⁷⁴ Son of Olivier Quesnel, master armorer, and Catherine Prudhomme; baptized at Montreal, June 18, 1695. He was godfather to a boy born in Kaskaskia in 1721 to Antoine Carriere and Marie Madeleine Quesnel, his sister. A brother, Raimond, also lived in Illinois. Tanguay, I, 505; *Répertoire de la Paroisse*. ⁷⁵ See Appendix, p. 116. ⁷⁶ See Appendix, p. 95.

⁷⁷ See Appendix, p. 87. There may have been two Joseph Merciers, for one document speaks of a locksmith, another of a wig-maker.

⁷⁸ Louis Eustache Moreau, one of the nine children of Louis Moreau and Catherine Bonhomme, baptized at Quebec December 30, 1707. His brother, Joseph Valentin, baptized at Quebec July 2, 1709, married Marie Catherine, daughter of Jean Baptiste Potier and Françoise la Brise. His sister, Louise Françoise, baptized March 18, 1702, married Jean Baptiste Boucher (possibly the Illinois Boucher), November 20, 1719. Tanguay, I, 441-442; Kaskaskia MSS.

⁷⁹ See Appendix, p. 94. ⁸⁰ See Appendix, p. 91.

⁸¹ See Appendix, p. 96. ⁸² See Appendix, p. 97.

⁸³ Born in Brittany and married there to Gillet à Bonte. They were parents of Paul, Marie Madeleine, Geneviève, and René Grégoire. The son, René, married Madeleine Robillard, widow of Antoine Rivierre, in 1738 at Fort de Chartres. Dame Gillet à Bonte married Joachim Gérard January 23, 1748. Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, II.

⁸⁴ See Appendix, p. 110. ⁸⁵ See Appendix, p. 118.

⁸⁶ Son of Marie Anne Urbain who later married Antoine *dit Derosiers*. La Riviere died before June 16, 1742. *La. Hist. Quart.*, XI, 301.

⁸⁷ See Appendix, p. 88. ⁸⁸ See Appendix, p. 115. ⁸⁹ See Appendix, p. 91.

⁹⁰ See "Veuve Lajoy," Appendix, p. 117.

⁹¹ See "Laroëc," Appendix, p. 119. October 9, 1747, Jean Baptiste Deguire, tailor, admitted owing Monsieur Buchet, procuror of the king, 1,000 livres for "harboring" Deguire's two natural children by the slave of Monsieur Buchet. Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, VII.

⁹² See Appendix, p. 92. ⁹³ See Appendix, p. 100.

Pierre Mare . . . *dit* La Bonté, mason, Kaskaskia. June 9, 1748.
 Hubert Beaubin,⁹⁴ tailor, Kaskaskia. May 18, 1751.
 Nantais,⁹⁵ carpenter and soldier, Kaskaskia. According to Macarty, the only good carpenter in the village, and he "is sick and a drunkard." 1752.
 François Dayon (?), tailor, Kaskaskia. 1753.
 Gabriel Dodier,⁹⁶ smith and interpreter, Nouvelle Chartres. 1756.
 Antoine Cheneau *dit* Sanschagrin,⁹⁷ roofer, Nouvelle Chartres. May 25, 1757.
 Joseph la Bollé, master barber surgeon, Kaskaskia. March 29, 1758.
 Benoit Allain *dit* Tourangeau, smith, Kaskaskia. December 6, 1758.
 La Croix,⁹⁸ blacksmith, Nouvelle Chartres. 1759.
 Jean Manuel,⁹⁹ master mason, Nouvelle Chartres. 1759.
 Jean Baptiste Goilée *dit* Belisle, smith, Kaskaskia. June 25, 1759.
 Perthius,¹⁰⁰ baker, Fort de Chartres. December 31, 1759.
 Charles Bienvenu *dit* Delisle,¹⁰¹ roofer, Kaskaskia. 1760.
 François Hennet *dit* Sanschagrin,¹⁰² roofer, Nouvelle Chartres. April 20, 1760.
 Nicolas Caillot *dit* La Chance,¹⁰³ carpenter, Kaskaskia. June 7, 1760.
 Conrad Seeloff *dit* Caulet,¹⁰⁴ king's baker, Fort de Chartres. 1763.

Part of the population of Kaskaskia was composed of transients — the *voyageurs* who made the village their headquarters between trips to the Gulf and Canada or trading excursions into Indian country. Many were men born in Illinois; some were Canadians, a few were natives of lower Louisiana. Occasionally they were farmers and artisans.

Annually, in the spring of the year, these *voyageurs*, carrying the flour and meat of Illinois merchants, joined the convoy that was sent down the river to New Orleans with the troops from the fort that were being relieved. In the late summer, bringing back merchandise for the French and Indians, they ascended to Kaskaskia in the king's convoy protected by the new company of soldiers. Too often, however, they took their own dangerous way alone up and down the Mississippi, run-

⁹⁴ May 18, 1751, bought house and land in Kaskaskia for 400 livres from Nicolas Janis. Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, VIII.

⁹⁵ HMLC 327. ⁹⁶ See Appendix, p. 98.

⁹⁷ See Appendix, p. 96. ⁹⁸ See Appendix, p. 109.

⁹⁹ Madeleine Manuel, daughter of Jean Manuel and Jeanne la Perriere, married Conrad Seeloff *dit* Caulet, May 3, 1763. *Régistre de la Paroisse*.

¹⁰⁰ The Perthius family was a numerous one in Illinois, but which member was the baker, I don't know. Head of the clan was Pierre Perthius, baptized at Pointe Aux Trembles, Montreal, April 16, 1686, and married about 1713 to Catherine Mallet. There were eleven children: Joseph, baptized, 1717, at Montreal; Catherine, baptized in 1718, died, 1763; Madeleine, baptized at Detroit, January 20, 1720, married Joseph Roy; Angélique, baptized at Detroit, 1721, married first to Louis Chauvin of Illinois, and second to Étienne Gouvereau of Illinois; Pierre, baptized at Detroit, 1723; Marguerite, baptized at Detroit, June 15, 1725, married first Jacques Baston, and second, Joseph Courtois, at Kaskaskia, August 20, 1742; Louise, baptized at Detroit, March 15, 1727, married François Lalumandiére September 17, 1742; Claire, baptized, 1728; Jeanne, baptized at Detroit, April 17, 1730, married Étienne Lalande, one of the twin sons of Jacques Lalande and Marie Tefio, June 1, 1744; François, baptized at Detroit, January 1, 1732; Alexis, baptized at Detroit, November 16, 1734. Pierre Perthius was a merchant of Kaskaskia in 1743; François was a merchant of Nouvelle Chartres in 1760.

¹⁰¹ Son of François Bienvenu *dit* Delisle and Marianne le Moine, of Detroit, where he was born. Husband of Élisabeth Lalande, whom he married June 2, 1760. In 1757, Kerlerec asked the ministry for a sword for Sieur Delisle, "habitant notable," who contributed much to the success of the expedition to Fort Duquesne. ANC C13A 401:24-26.

Tanguay confuses the two Bienvenu families of Illinois, listing the children of Philippe, who came from France, as the children of François Bienvenu of Detroit.

¹⁰² See Appendix, p. 105. ¹⁰³ Churchwarden at Kaskaskia in 1762.

¹⁰⁴ See note 99.

ning risks from attacks by the Chickasaw and other hostile Indians, and bringing down the maledictions of the government on their heads for putting French officials to the necessity of securing their release when they were captured, or avenging their deaths when they were killed.

They were hardy, adventurous men; none other would have dared trust their lives in the long, narrow pirogues fashioned from cypress or cedar logs forty feet long and no more than three or four feet wide. The bigger pirogues carried thirty men; their freight capacity varied from one to fifty tons.

Batteaux were the craft used by the government and the richer merchants to carry merchandise. Larger than the pirogues, and built of several pieces of timber, they were flat-bottomed and pointed of bow and stern. One end was covered with hoops of cloth for protecting the stores. They carried sails, and when the wind was unfavorable, they were oared or poled. After 1750 "cordelling," or towing, came into common use for the heaviest ones.¹⁰⁵ Their sizes varied considerably. In 1737 the government let a contract for the construction of fifty batteaux each to be 40 by 9 by 4 feet, of twelve tons burden, to cost 3,440 livres apiece, and to be finished by March, 1738.¹⁰⁶ Demi-galères, or decked batteaux, were also employed in the Illinois traffic. Two, of twenty-five tons each with space for sixty-four men, plied between upper and lower Louisiana by 1725.¹⁰⁷ Whether the *galères* of fifty or more tons were ever used in the annual convoys is not recorded. For ferries across the Illinois rivers, pirogues were sawed in half lengthwise and broad planks inserted in the middle in order that horses and cattle could be transported in greater safety.

The best time to leave Kaskaskia for New Orleans was about February 1, when the water was high and the current flowing at the rate of five miles an hour; then, too, the land on both sides was flooded, and the Indians were hunting. For the downstream journey it took only twelve to twenty days. Returning in the autumn convoy was a different story. Against the current the best crews made only six or seven leagues, rowing from dawn to dusk. Indian attacks were frequent and more than one convoy was caught by the ice and forced to winter en route. Three to four months were usually counted on for the trip.

The annual convoys were under the command of a French officer, who was allowed to carry a certain amount of freight free as a kind of a bonus. There were frequent reports that he abused this privilege, carrying so much of his own that there was little room for any else. Often, too, when the goods were checked upon their arrival at Illinois, many were found missing, presumably from the captain's pilfering.

¹⁰⁵ Surrey, *Commerce of Louisiana*, 73.
¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 8:455-455v.

¹⁰⁶ ANC C13A 20:176-179.

Voyageurs were allowed to accompany the king's batteaux for protection; in fact, they were ordered to do so, but they were always straying away because they could make better time or because they wanted to hunt on shore or because of half a dozen other reasons, and then were attacked by the Indians — so, at least, it seemed to the governor.

At all times of the year there were single pirogues of *voyageurs* and traders going to and from the sea, but the main river traffic was carried on by these convoys. At Kaskaskia sales were often made with provision for payment "when the next convoy arrives." There seem to have been two sent each year from New Orleans, one in the autumn, and another in the spring, but evidently only one annually from Illinois. Anywhere from a hundred to two hundred men, soldiers and traders, made up these fleets from the south; probably a like number sailed in the downstream convoy.

• In the last years of the French regime in the Valley, fewer and fewer boats sailed the Mississippi, and by 1763 Illinois had been left to shift for itself in the matter of provisions and supplies. The record of the trade between Canada and Illinois, which was never as great as that between Illinois and New Orleans, is written in the notarial files of Quebec and Montreal in the lists of the engagements of *voyageurs* to carry the merchants' goods to the wilderness posts. From the Kaskaskia Manuscripts one would hardly guess that there was any trade at all.

The Illinois merchants had their own *engagés* whom they sent out to the neighboring tribes. Terms of all the engagements were similar; he who was hired agreed to serve "faithfully and loyally," to do "whatever his master commanded," and in return received a stipulated sum in money, peltries or merchandise, his food, and sometimes clothing. A few of these contracts will serve as examples.

On September 23, 1737, Michael le Cour engaged Louis la Vallée, a *voyageur*, to go with him to Missouri, from there to Mackinac, and return from there to Cahokia. La Vallée was to be paid 300 livres in beavers or other furs, one pair of leggings, one pair of trousers, two deerskins to make shoes, and be allowed to carry a pound of glass beads and a pound of vermillion in his canoe to trade to his own profit.¹⁰⁸

In the spring of 1739 Jean Baptiste Potier, having eighty horses to deliver to the fort being built on the St. François River, and Raphael Beauvais, having seventy-seven yoke of oxen to take to the same place, engaged at least sixteen men to help. Most of them were to be paid 400 livres in card-money upon their return to Kaskaskia, but Louis Boré, whom Potier hired on May 12, was to receive 1,000 livres and to be free after the fort had been reached unless Potier was ill; in that case, Boré

¹⁰⁸ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, III.

agreed to help Potier return home.¹⁰⁹ Jean Baptiste Deguire, the tailor, was one of those employed,¹¹⁰ along with Joseph, minor son of Michael Philippe, captain of the militia.¹¹¹ In the floods of the Mississippi eight yoke of oxen and thirty horses were lost; after the arrival of the expedition on the fifteenth of July, half of the remaining beasts perished on "account of the bad weather."¹¹²

Guillaume Potier¹¹³ with the consent of Pierre Aubuchon, his guardian, was engaged by François Gervais of Kaskaskia on May 7, 1740, to go to New Orleans and back for 200 livres, four pots of brandy, and some tobacco.¹¹⁴ That fall Jacques Duvergé, surgeon at Kaskaskia, and Pierre Doza, a hunter, entered a partnership to go hunting on the Ohio River, taking Doza's small son, Joseph, Duvergé's brother-in-law, and Jean Baptiste Neuport. The physician was to furnish three minots of salt for the meat, a hundred pounds of powder and whatever else was necessary. When the hunting was over, he was to take the meat to New Orleans; Doza was to supply a man to accompany him.¹¹⁵ Duvergé hired Neuport for 300 livres in silver, payable on their arrival at New Orleans and fifty pots of brandy upon their return to Kaskaskia.¹¹⁶

The fourteen-year-old son of Jean and Marie Barbe Henrion¹¹⁷ of Fort de Chartres was engaged by Pierre Messager, trader and miner, for a term of three years, commencing in the spring of 1741. The parents were to be paid 300 livres, mostly in flour.¹¹⁸

As to the amount of the fur trade actually carried on by men of the Illinois country, there is little mention in local records. Sometimes in inventories furs are listed in the estate of the deceased, as for instance in Bourdon's oft-quoted inventory,¹¹⁹ where we find these items:

4.443 pounds of beavers, including 13½ pounds of cast-offs
 84 deerskins
 12 deerskins
 12 doeskins
 6 buffalo hides
 10 otter skins
 54 pounds of tallow

- A monopoly on the fur trade of the Missouri and Wabash rivers for a space of five years was granted by the Company of the Indies in 1728 to two Canadians, Marain and Outlas. All their pelts had to be sold

¹⁰⁹ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, III. ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* ¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 428.

¹¹³ Son of Guillaume Potier and Marie, an Indian, both of whom had died by 1741. (Marie had married Raimond Quesnel after Potier's death.) Potier and Marie were parents of: Marie Marguerite, born May 30, 1719; Guillaume, born March 7, 1721, died by 1748; Marguerite, born and died January 15, 1724; Charles, still a minor in 1748. *Répertoire de la Paroisse*; Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, V.

¹¹⁴ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, IV. ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Marie Barbe, upon Henrion's death, probably in 1746, married Philippe Mounton, a soldier at Fort de Chartres; she died about August 15, 1748. Among the Henrion children were Pierre, who was 14 in 1741; François; Charles; Genevieve, who died August 31, 1748, the wife of St. Pierre; and Marie Anne, who married a soldier, Nicolas Beaugenoux. Kaskaskia MSS.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, V. ¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Public Papers, II.

only to the Company and delivered only at New Orleans.¹²⁰ Prices were regulated as follows:

Beavers, 34 *sols* a pound
 Fat winter beavers, 3 *livres* a pound
 Wildcat skins, 5 *sols* apiece
 Deerskins, 30 *sols* by weight
 Wolfskins, 50 *sols* each
 Large bearskins, 5 *livres* each
 Ordinary bearskins, 3 *livres* each

But the Company a year and a half later gave up its control of the colony to the king so that this grant did not even run its full term.

Dufrésne and Mallet were partners in the fur trade; both were residents of Illinois, and one of the commercial papers in the Manuscripts¹²¹ lists the peltries carried by Dufrésne to Detroit during his association with Mallet. The total value of the furs amounted to 6,102 *livres 12 sols 10 deniers*; among them were:

	<i>Livres</i>
95 salable wildcat skins and 115 wildcat skins at 25 <i>sols</i>	143.15
30 skins of the same.....	.....
1,651 wildcat skins, same price.....	2,063.15
107 fox and Louisiana skunks at 40 <i>sols</i>	214.
44 skunks at 50 <i>sols</i>	110.
268 wildcats at 25 <i>sols</i>	224.11.8
80 large bears at 4 <i>livres</i>	320.
100 large bears at 3 <i>livres</i>	300.
56 medium-sized bears at 3 <i>livres</i>	168.
12 large cubs at 4 <i>sols</i>	24.
7 packages of deerskins.....	843.
394 pounds of beavers at 38 <i>sols</i>	748.12

This appears to be the only document of its kind. We must guess that with almost every habitant doing a little trading on the side and with the many merchants who gave it their whole attention, the number of skins brought into Kaskaskia at the end of the winter hunts must have been considerable. Quite a number of Illinois French laid the foundations of their wealth with furs then, as they and their children did later in the American Fur Company at St. Louis.

¹²⁰ ANC C13A 11:154-155v.

¹²¹ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, II, 1733.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL LIFE AND CUSTOMS

THE ILLINOIS HABITANT was a gay soul; he seemed shockingly carefree to later, self-righteous puritans from the American colonies. He danced on Sunday after mass, was passionately attached to faro and half a dozen other card games, and played billiards at all hours. He gossiped long over a friendly pipe and a congenial mug of brandy in the half-dusk of his porch or in the noisy tavern. And every conceivable occasion he celebrated with religious rituals and pagan ceremonies.

The church with all its stately rites was called in to consecrate the newly built house, the plowed fields and the harvested grain. The procession of the Blessed Sacrament through the streets was a signal for rejoicing, even if it was being carried to the banks of the swollen Mississippi, there to turn back the flood waters from the fields. Fête-days, to the number of twenty-seven,¹ called for respite from labor, the donning of one's best clothing, and feasting without end. Besides these holydays of obligation, there were the name-days of the habitants' patron saints to observe.

Christmas and New Year's was the gayest season of the year. Midnight mass December 24 in the parish church ushered in the holiday for which preparations had been made since the beginning of Advent. The altar blazed with candles while fair-skinned French and dark-visaged savages knelt together. After mass, families gathered for *Le Reveillon*, an enormous Christmas breakfast, in the patriarchal home. Then followed more services at church, more feasting, and in the evening, balls in the wealthier homes.

New Year's Eve was given over to revelry. The young men of the town, in grotesque costumes, and with sacks slung over their backs went from door to door. At each house when the head of the family had answered their knock, they marched in behind the fiddler singing *La Guignolée*.

¹ The holydays of obligation celebrated in New France during the eighteenth century were: the Feast of the Circumcision, January 11; Epiphany, January 12; Candlemas, February 2; Feast of St. Mathias, February 24; Feast of St. Joseph, March 19; Feast of the Annunciation, March 25; Feast of St. Michael, May 8; Feast of St. John Baptist, June 24; Feast of St. Bartholomew, August 24; Feast of St. Louis, August 26; Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, September 8; Feast of St. Matthew, September 24; Feast of Saints Simon and Jude, October 28; All Saints' Day, November 1; Feast of St. Andrew, November 30; Feast of St. Francis Xavier, December 3; Feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8; Feast of St. Thomas, December 21; Feast of St. Stephen, December 26; Feast of St. John Evangelist, December 28. And Christmas; Easter Sunday, Monday and Tuesday; Ascension Day; Whitsun, Monday and Tuesday; Corpus Christi; Titular Saint of Quebec; and Patronal Feast of the Parish of Kaskaskia. *Mo. Hist. Soc. Pub.*, VI, no. 14.

Bonsoir le maître et la maîtresse
 Et tout le monde du logis!
 Pour le premier jour de l'année
 La Guignolée nous vous devez.
 Si vous n'avez rien à nous donner
 Dites-nous le!
 Nous vous, demandons par grand 'chose
 Une échinée
 Une échinée n'est pas grand 'chose
 De quatre-vingt dix pieds le long;
 Encore nous demandons par grand 'chose,
 La fille ainée de la maison
 Nous lui ferons faire bonne chère
 Nous lui ferons chauffer les pieds
 Nous salvons la compagnie
 Et la prions nous excuser.
 Si l'on a fait quelque folie
 C'etoit pour nous des ennuyer
 Une autre fois nous prendons garde
 Quand sera temps d'y revenir
 Dansons la Guenille, dansons la Guenille, dansons
 la Guenille!

Chorus

Bonsoir le maître et la maîtresse
 Et tout le monde du logis!?

When they came to the part about keeping the young lady's feet warm, some "love-smitten swain would break in with a ditty about doves and cuckoos, nightingales and green bowers, closing with a protestation that he was dying for the soft eyes of his mistress."² The love song finished, the sacks were held out for donations of lard, candles, maple syrup, eggs, meat, anything that could be used for the Twelfth Night ball. Then everyone danced the ragdance, capering like imps and singing at the tops of their lungs until refreshments of croquinoles and cordials were served and the masqueraders went on to the next house.

St. Nicolas visited the children that night, leaving them gifts from their godparents. At daybreak everyone attended mass, and after a bountiful breakfast, went calling on his neighbors.

Carnival began on the eve of Epiphany when the girls of Kaskaskia invited the young men to a pancake frolic. Stacks of savory cakes were tossed in long-handled frying pans over the fire and eaten with generous servings of maple syrup. Then there were games—"Hide the ring, young shepherdess." "In my right hand I hold a rose tree," and "To whom shall we marry her?" Four kings were chosen by the maids; they in turn picked queens, and a few nights afterwards gave a ball called the *Bal de Rois*. Here the queens picked new consorts who in turn gave

² Forbes, S. A., "The Gui Année in Illinois," a typescript in the Illinois Historical Survey.

³ *Mo. Hist. Soc. Pub.*, I, no. 1, December, 1933.

another ball. So it continued, until Ash Wednesday put an end to merrymaking.

La Mi-Careme, or mid-Lent, was a "kind of half-way station on the penitential journey." Then there were more pancake parties with the delicious *crêpes* stacked pyramid fashion on huge platters and covered with crushed maple sugar.

Holy Week was celebrated with special masses and processions. Branches blessed on Palm Sunday were planted in the fields to bring good crops, and according to superstition, all garden vegetables planted on Good Friday were doubly fruitful. Midnight mass on Holy Saturday ended the Lenten fast and inaugurated the three days of Easter feasting.

Corpus Christi, a movable feast, occurred late in May or early in June. Then there was a procession of the Blessed Sacrament through the streets with the troops or militia under arms lining the way. The fête-day of St. Jean Baptiste, patron saint of Canada and most popular patron in Illinois, marked midsummer, and was celebrated with ancient pagan customs. On the evening of June 24, the elders of the village hunted for sacred herbs to provide future remedies, and the children went from door to door begging for fagots to burn. At nightfall the wood was heaped in a great pile, and the oldest habitant or perhaps the curé, threw on a flaming brand. In the church there were special services the next day and another procession. Those men and boys who had been named for the saint, and there was one Jean Baptiste in practically every Kaskaskia family, kept their birthday anniversaries then as was the custom in Catholic countries. On August 26 the habitant observed the feast of Louis, sainted king of France, and brought out his best wine to drink the health of the present Louis. Macarty reported that on that day in 1752 "we tasted three barrels."⁴ The commandant no doubt ended the day by being gloriously drunk. Special holydays commemorated in Kaskaskia were the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, guardian of the parish church, on September 8, and the feast of her Immaculate Conception on December 8.

A custom peculiar to the French was the *pain bénit* that marked part of the observation of feast days. Baked by some habitant's wife, it was a long crisp loaf made of fine wheat flour, and was brought in at the offertory of the mass with considerable pomp. After it had been blessed by the priest, it was broken into pieces and handed about to the congregation in baskets. What was left was taken home to absent members.

There is no baptismal record for the year 1741 or for 1742; but if there were, there would undoubtedly be an entry for the christening of the bell that was sent to the Kaskaskia church. There is such an entry

⁴ HML 378, September 6, 1752.

for the first bell of St. Louis years later. After vespers the bell was draped in silk and placed near the railing of the sanctuary where it was blessed and baptized by the priest while the godparents stood by. Usually the godmother was dressed in light silk, the same material as she had given for the bell. Afterwards dress and bell silk were given to the church for vestments. Sometimes the name of the bell was cut into its side, but this was not done for the one in the church of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia.

The daily services of the church in the village have been mentioned — low mass each weekday morning with vespers and meditations in the evening. On Sundays high mass was sung; on occasions when there was a harvest that had to be reaped on Sunday or be lost, or when floods threatened damage, vespers came immediately after mass so that the habitant might be free the rest of the day to work. At church he sat on his own bench which he rented by the year, and here his social ranking was more apparent than in any other phase of his life. The pews of greatest dignity and highest rental were at the front of the sanctuary, near the altar. Here sat the commandant and the other officers, when and if they attended. The town's leading citizens had benches close by, which they used during their lifetime and under which they were buried at their death. The other habitants paid lower fees for pews farther back and were interred in the parish cemetery.

Births, deaths and marriages alike had their own especial traditions. When an infant was born, the church bell announced his arrival, and if the announcement was short, the godfather, who paid the beadle to ring the bell, was likely to find himself branded as a miser. The bell rang again, asking for prayers for the departed soul when a habitant died, tolling longer for a man than for a woman, for it was thought a man had more need of prayers. Wherever it was heard, heads bowed, repeating the *Angelus* and *De Profundis*. Burials were held the same day that death occurred or sometimes the following day. The body was carried from house to church in a cross-led procession while the villagers lined the streets. Every effort was made to keep the coffin moving because of the fear that any house before which it stopped was marked for a death within the year.

Death was a common enough happening everywhere in the eighteenth century; it was no stranger to the Illinois country where malarial fevers and typhoid claimed victims every year. Smallpox, brought by the French to the Indians, came close to wiping out more than one tribe. Tomahawks in the hands of hostile savages claimed their toll likewise. The Kaskaskia burial register is only fragmentary, but it sheds some light on the death rate. Here are the statistics for the years 1721 to 1727 as they were recorded by the priests:

<i>Date</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>
<i>1721</i>			Sept. 3	26 yrs.	M
Jan. 4	41 yrs.	M	Sept. 5	2½ yrs.	M
June 1	56 yrs.	M	Sept. 12	7 days	M
July 6	6 days	M	Dec. 21	25 yrs.	M
Aug. 3	21 yrs.	F	Dec. 30	8 days	M
Aug. 7	60 yrs.	M			
Aug. 27	6 wks.	M			
Sept. 15	2 yrs.	F	<i>1724</i>		
Sept. 18	46 yrs.	M	Feb. 24	22 yrs.	F
			Apr. 4	23 yrs.	M
			Apr. 12	4 men killed	
<i>1722</i>			Apr. 27	2 yrs.	M
Feb. 6	50 yrs.	M	July 17	41 yrs.	M
Sept. 25	9 mos.	F			
Oct. 3	50 yrs.	M	<i>1725</i>		
Oct. 11	30 yrs.	M	Mar. 16	2 men killed	
Oct. 18	11 mos.	F	June 25	41 yrs.	F
Oct. 18	2 yrs.	F	Aug. 10	25 yrs.	M
Oct. 29	50 yrs.	M	Sept. 17	2 yrs.	M
Nov. 4	3 mos.	M	Nov. 27	2 yrs.	F
Nov. 7	2 yrs.	M	Dec. 23	39 yrs.	F
Nov. 10	11 mos.	M			
			<i>1726</i>		
<i>1723</i>			Jan. 18	37 days	M
Feb. 12	30 yrs.	M	Jan. 15	.....	F
Feb. 27	33 yrs.	M	Oct. 2	3 yrs.	F
Apr. 24	22 yrs.	M			
Apr. 29	28 yrs.	M	<i>1727</i>		
June 29	42 yrs.	M	Jan. 25	2 mos.	F
July 3	25-26 yrs.	M	Dec. 18	1 mo.	F

Epidemics struck in the later summer and fall months of most of the years; deaths were more frequent from August to December. According to the registers of the parish church of Ste. Anne of Fort de Chartres, twenty-four persons died in the village in 1746, and of these, twenty died between August 10 and Christmas. December was the most fatal month.

<i>Month</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Month</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>
Dec. 5	20 yrs.	M	Dec. 20	56 yrs.	F
Dec. 7	.....	F	Dec. 21	.....	F
Dec. 7	.....	F	Dec. 22	40 yrs.	F
Dec. 10	29 yrs.	M	Dec. 24	11 yrs.	F
Dec. 10	21 yrs.	M	Dec. 25	18 yrs.	F
Dec. 10	.....	M	Dec. 25	50 yrs.	M
Dec. 11	30 yrs.	F			

It was in this epidemic that the three Potier brothers, Jean Baptiste, Joseph, and Toussaint, all sons of Jean Baptiste Potier and Françoise la Brise, died. Toussaint's young wife, Catherine de Lessart, died two days before her husband on December 7, leaving an infant son.

To care for illness among the troops and the habitants, the government maintained a surgeon at Fort de Chartres, and another at Kaskaskia, but from reports, they were not very skillful in their art. A midwife was also

sometimes supported there by a salary from the crown. The first physician to be appointed to Illinois was Prévost who received his brevet in 1718; he apparently died in September, 1722, for on the twenty-third of that month a sale was had of the effects of the late surgeon-major of Illinois. (The name on the document is illegible.) His instruments were few: a small saw which was sold to Blot for 10 livres; four lancets, sold to Lalande, Potier, and Bourdon; two syringes "du Boetie et du Galon" which Lalande bought for 14 livres; a chemical balance for which Chassin paid 3 livres, and a treatise on surgery for which he paid 14 livres; a two-volume work on medicine; a treatise on accouchements sold to Potier for 16 livres; and a book entitled the *Surgeon of the Hospital* for which Bourdon paid 10 livres. Aside from these, he owned a flute which Monsieur d'Artagniette, who was then in Kaskaskia, purchased for 25 livres 10 sols, and the *Tales of Boccaccio*, which he bought for 4 livres.⁵

For a time Illinois was without a surgeon; another, Pierre Giard, was appointed, but he died about October 17, 1727.⁶ A German, Frederick,⁷ was sent to take his place, but Perier wrote that he was not very good.⁸ His salary was 600 livres a year. Evidently he too died at Illinois, for in 1736 it was reported that the surgeon there had died insolvent, leaving four young children. Two of them, the elder being twelve years old, were taken to the Ursuline orphanage at New Orleans; the other two remained in Illinois.⁹ In 1740 René Roy was serving as surgeon at Fort de Chartres at wages of 1,000 livres yearly.¹⁰ He died January 14, 1745, at the age of forty years, after having received Extreme Unction but not the Holy Viaticum "a cause d'une touⁿ oppiniatre qu'il avoit," according to the parish register of Ste. Anne.

Jacques Duvergé, who went on the hunting trip with Pierre Doza in 1740, has already been mentioned as physician at Kaskaskia; François Deguire *dit* Larose owed him in that year 300 livres for medicine.¹¹ Pierre Ignace Bardet la Ferne, living in France at that time, was appointed surgeon-major of Illinois in 1737.¹² On April 27, 1745, after the publication of three bans, he married Marianne Barrois, born in Montreal, the daughter of the notary, Jean Baptiste Barrois, and Madeleine Cardinal.¹³ Their daughter, Anne la Ferne, on July 6, 1763, married André August Condé, who was then surgeon at Nouvelle Chartres. Condé was a native of Aunis, France, and later went with St. Ange to

⁵ Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, II. ⁶ *Ibid.*, Private Papers, VI.

⁷ His wife was Marie Catherine de Poutre. *Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, I.

⁸ *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, II, 582.

⁹ ANC C13A 21:268-268v.

¹⁰ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, IV. Son of Jean Roy. Married Agnes Philippe, widow of Nicolas Chassin, in 1737. Father of Élizabeth, who married Joseph Hennet January 11, 1752. In 1741 married Madeleine Mercier, daughter of Jean Baptiste Mercier and Marie Baret.

¹¹ *Ibid.* ¹² ANC C13A 22:141v. ¹³ *Répertoire de la Paroisse*.

St. Louis where he died in 1776.¹⁴ Louis Chancelier was a Kaskaskia physician at least between the years 1748 and 1759, and perhaps during a longer period.¹⁵ Michael Godeau arrived in the village from New Orleans in the autumn convoy of 1751¹⁶ and was still there on January 10, 1756 when his daughter, Marie Josephe, married Eugene Pouvre *dit* Beausoleil.¹⁷

Marriage in the Illinois was a matter of concern both to the government and to the church. There were never enough eligible girls in the country; the Illinois habitants and officers for the most part refused to marry the girls whom the Company of the Indies had picked from the Paris streets. Chassin, the *garde magazin*, in 1722, suggested that girls might easily be sent from Canada, but that "a libertine who came from there makes the officers fear other girls might be the same."¹⁸ As late as 1752 Macarty was writing to Governor Vaudreuil that:

The principle of it is to send fruitful stock, if you wish increase, for we have many men who cannot set up housekeeping for want of girls. The creoles of this country won't deign to look at a soldier. Their easy life gives them big ideas. If you could send some girls from the foundlings or the hospitals of France to give to the discharged soldiers, they might become fruitful vines, instructed in the principles of religion, who would accept their situation and would in the end make good inhabitants, if things were made easier for them the first two years. But I am much afraid they would be corrupted on their way through the lower colony.¹⁹

Few widows remained widows long. It was common for an inventory of the late husband's goods and a marriage contract between the widow and another habitant to be drawn up on the same day. Bans, of course, had to be published at high mass on three successive Sundays, which usually meant that the next marriage did not take place for at least two weeks. But sometimes one or two of the bans were dispensed with by the priest; marriages did take place occasionally immediately after the reading of the first ban. Even the Lenten prohibitions were frequently lifted to allow the ceremony. Apparently the only widow in Kaskaskia who did not remarry was Marie Claire Catois, whose husband, Leonard Billeron, royal notary, died in 1740. She was known as the Widow la Fatigue from Billeron's nickname; she raised four sons and a daughter — Leonard, Pierre, Joseph, Marianne and Jacques — kept lodgers, and made trips to New Orleans to look after her affairs there.

French-Indian marriages were common in the early days of Kaskaskia, but they were not at all to the liking either of the Company of the Indies or later to the royal ministers. On December 18, 1728, a decree of the Canadian Superior Council, made in view of a statement by Father Boulanger, curé of Kaskaskia, ordered that the property of Indian wives

¹⁴ Houck, L., *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, I, 58n, 120n.

¹⁵ Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, VII. ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, VIII.

¹⁷ *Répertoire de la Paroisse*. ¹⁸ *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, II, 274-275.

¹⁹ HMLO 412, December 7, 1752.

who died without issue should go to the Company. These women were not to have the disposal of any real property remaining after the death of their French husbands, but were to be paid an annual pension of one-third of the revenue of such property. The remaining two-thirds was to be divided among the heirs, or failing these, was to be administered by the curator for vacant estates. All French-Indian marriages were prohibited pending a decision of the king.²⁰ An edict forbidding all such marriages in the future without the consent of the governor, intendant, commissary, or commandant of the post of the Illinois, was issued October 8, 1735.²¹

Father Tartarin of Kaskaskia protested; only by legitimate marriages could the whole problem of illegitimate half-breeds be overcome. Children of marriages sanctified by the church, by their French upbringing and inheritance from their fathers, he reported, were more French than Indian, and in twenty years only one child of such an alliance had returned to the wilderness. Possibly he was referring to Michael, son of Michael Aco and Marie Rouensa, whom his mother disinherited for giving up French ways and joining the savages in the forests. On the other hand, according to Tartarin, bastards were left without education or any hope of an inheritance; these were the ones who made trouble for the French. As for the young Frenchmen who were living with their Indian slaves, "to the scandal of the community," they should be forced to marry.

But apparently the order was never revoked; there were few Indian wives in Kaskaskia in 1763, though a large part of the population had Indian blood in their veins.

Army officers were beset with difficulties when they tried to marry. No matter their rank, they all had to get official permission from the government first. There was so much red tape that often the betrothal was broken before the consent finally arrived; sometimes merely a whim on the governor's part prohibited a union.

La Buissonniere, who later became commandant at Illinois, fell in love with Marie Thérèse Trudeau, daughter of a pioneer colonist of Louisiana, and asked permission from Perier to marry her. But the governor refused. Both of them were as poor "as church mice." If they married, they would have a large family and then expect the government to support them.

Soon afterwards, Perier returned to France. There he busied himself sending letters back to New Orleans falsely accusing La Buissonniere of already having a wife whom he had deserted. Bienville, Perier's successor, hoping to avert further scandal, assigned La Buissonniere to the post at Mobile.

²⁰ *Canadian Archives*, 1899, Supplement, 135.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 1904, Appendix K, 209.

From there, however, and with the connivance of Sieur Trudeau himself and one of his other daughters, La Buissonniere eloped with Marie Thérèse to Pensacola where they bribed a Spanish Franciscan father to marry them. Once the news got back to New Orleans, the Capuchins, who held the religious control of the city, forced Bienville to recall La Buissonniere, angrily demanding that he be imprisoned. The governor, however, ordered the young officer off to Fort de Chartres; in that the clergy acquiesced, but, they said, he must go alone. The "pretended wife" could not be permitted to accompany him.

Bienville appeared to agree. Secretly, he took D'Artagniette, in charge of the 1733 convoy and new commandant of Illinois, aside and explained. Marie Thérèse could go with her husband; but she must embark quietly without attracting any attention, and D'Artagniette must see to it that the couple remained on different batteaux until the convoy was out of sight of the city. Seemingly this was to be the happy ending to their romantic adventure. But at Natchez, the bride fell ill with smallpox and had to return to her father's home while La Buissonniere went on to Illinois. Not until two years after Bienville had finally obtained confirmation of the marriage from the court, was Marie Thérèse able to join her husband at Fort de Chartres.²²

In every marriage, before the religious ceremony could take place, a marriage contract had to be made before the royal notary. By the contract a community was established consisting of all the movable property owned by each party on the day of the marriage; after the celebration of the marriage, no other valid contract could be made altering its terms in any respect. Either party could, however, dissolve the contract at will; tacit consent of both parties was all that was then needed to re-establish it. Administration of the joint property belonged to the husband who could dispose of any of it so long as he did so in good faith with no intention of defrauding his wife. Any property, movable or immovable, acquired after the marriage, became a part of the community, and was disposed of at the dissolution of the contract according to its terms.

In most contracts, it was stipulated that the wife could at any time renounce the community and take back any property she had acquired either through inheritance or by gift together with her dowry and *preciput*. There was at least one such case in Kaskaskia. On February 1, 1751, in the absence of her husband, Victoire Claude, wife of Louis Cabassier,²³ petitioned Buchet for permission to renounce the community between herself and her husband. Her patrimony having been absorbed by debts contracted by Cabassier before their marriage, she asked that a settlement be made by which she would be reimbursed.²⁴

²² ANC B59:600v; C13A 15:150-155v. Records of the Superior Council, *La. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, 485, 486, 488. ²³ See Appendix, p. 93. ²⁴ Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, III.

An important part of the contract provided for the dower and the *preciput*. The dower, which should not be confused with the bride's dowry which her father paid to the husband at the time of the marriage,²⁵ was of two kinds, the *douaire coutumier* and the *douaire prefix*. The first, under the custom of Paris, was a usufruct on half of the movables owned by the husband at the time of the marriage; according to the terms of the contract, it was paid to the widow either as a lump sum upon the husband's death, or in annual installments throughout her lifetime. Usually the amount was reduced if she remarried.

The more common type of dower in the Illinois country was the *douaire prefix*, a certain sum stipulated in the contract, and payable to the widow in addition to her rights in the division of the estate.

The *preciput*, its amount definitely stated in the contract, went to the survivor of the community, whether husband or wife. Included with it was the right of that person to take out free of debt any property in personal use: wearing apparel, jewelry, arms, and so forth.

Other provisions of the contract regulated the inheritance, especially if there were children of another marriage; in that connection also, there was an agreement concerning the support and education of any minor children by the wife's previous marriage.²⁶

Such was the life of the French habitants of the Illinois country of the eighteenth century. Many of their descendants live today in the villages of southern Illinois, in St. Louis, in Ste. Genevieve, and in Washington County, Missouri. Their names, however, are so changed as to be hardly recognizable. Duclos has become Decloe and Declue; Desgagne is Degonia; Grenier is Greenia; Page is Pashia; Trottier is Trokey, and Ricard is Recaw.

²⁵ What seems to have been the largest dowry paid in the Illinois country was that which Étienne Philippe Dulongpré, brother of Michael Philippe, paid to François Margane, Sieur de Vincennes, founder of Vincennes on the Wabash, on the marriage of the officer to his daughter, Marie, whose mother was an Indian. Her dowry was: two arpents of land, 1,000 livres in provisions, two bulls and a cow, and a negress, *pièce d'Inde*, named Marian. The *douaire prefix* was 2,000 livres; the *preciput*, 3,000 livres. Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, II, January 23, 1730.

²⁶ These marriage contracts, long and detailed, provide some of the best source material we have concerning the Kaskaskia habitants. They are actually more valuable than the fragmentary parish registers for tracing family relationships; in addition, they supply vital information regarding the social and economic standing of the persons involved.

APPENDIX

EXTRACTS FROM THE PARISH REGISTERS

BAPTISMS, 1723-1724¹

August 26, 1723. Joseph Marie, son of Joseph Lamy and Marie Françoise Rivard. Baptized August 27. Godparents, Jean Baptiste Potier; Marie Cathoues.

September 3. Marie Françoise, daughter of Philippe de La Renaudiere and Perrine Pivare. Baptized September 7 (?). Godparents, Girardot, *officier*; Françoise La Vigne Rivart.

September 4. Jean Baptiste, son of Nicolas Guillier and Dorothee Mercier. Baptized September 5. Godparents, Jean Baptiste Mercier; Marie Claire Cathoues.

September 9. Michel, son of Charles Dany and Dorothee Michi . . . , baptized October 1 (?). Godparents, Michel Philippe, lieutenant of the militia; Marie Claire Cathoues.

October 8. Marie Joseph, daughter of Pierre Glinel and Marianne Manitutie8e. Baptized October 19. Godparents, J. Ollivier, sergeant of the militia; Marie Ma8inie8e.

October 7 (?). Marc Antoine, son of J. Bte. Guillemot and Catherine Sabanakic8e. Baptized October 20. Godparents, Marc Antoine de La Loere Des Ursins, director of the Company; Marguerite Sanacamok8e.

November 3. Jean, son of Pierre Durand and Françoise Rabut. Baptized the same day. Godparents, J. Brunet, ensign of the militia; Françoise La Brise. Died.

November 20. Marie Madeleine and Céleste Thérèse, twin daughters of Antoine Carrier and Marie Madeleine Quesnel. Baptized the same day. Godparents, Sieur Girardot and Marie Tetio; Sieur Jacques Guillemot and Thérèse Neveu. Marie Madeleine died.

November 22. Toussaint, son of J. Bte. Potier and Françoise La Brise. Baptized the same day. Godparents, Joseph Lamy and Thérèse Neveu.

December 1. Pierre, son of J. Bte. Girardot, officer, and Thérèse Neveu. Baptized December 2. Godparents, Sieur Melique, lieutenant; Françoise La Brise.

December 2. Anne, daughter of Charles Souhait and Anne Midan (?). Baptized December 3. Godparents, J. Bte. Potier and Marie Tetio.

December 23. Elizabeth, daughter of Charles De Launay and Elisabeth Brunet. Baptized the same day. Godparents, J. Brunet and Marie Madeleine Baret.

December 25. Jean Baptiste, son of Jean Baptiste Mercier and Marie Madeleine Baret. Baptized the next day. Godparents, Joseph De Launay and Dorothee Mercier.

January 15, 1724. Marguerite, daughter of Guillaume Potier and Marie Apichu8rata (?). Baptized the same day. Godparents, Brunet, second lieutenant of the militia; Françoise La Brise. Died.

February 4. Elisabeth, daughter of Louis Turpin and Marie Causon. Baptized February 25. Godparents, Jean Baptiste Potier and Elisabeth Brunet.

March 4. Dorothee, daughter of Pierre Baillargeon and Domitille Chacateni8ata (?). Godparents, Pierre Chabot and Dorothee Michip . . .

April 19. Antoine, son of Pierre Pillet and Magdelaine Boiron. Baptized April 20. Godparents, Antoine Bausseron and Françoise La Brise.

¹ ANC G1, 412:5 ff.

MARRIAGES, 1723-1724²

June 6, 1723. Philippe Bienvenu, widower, master joiner, and Marie Foret (?), widow of Pierre Verrier.

June 15. Pierre Channeton (?), native of the parish of Donfron (?), diocese of Pariguen (?), and Marguerite Clairjon, widow of Henry Metivier.

September 13. Charles Gossiau, mason, son of Philippe, of the diocese of Cambray, and Jeanne Bienvenu, daughter of Philippe and Françoise Allari, parish of Pleines, diocese of Cannes.

January 4, 1724. Pierre Dany, mason, and Simone Marie Martin, widow of Claude Illeray.

January 11. Michel François Quadrin, son of Nicolas Quadrin and Françoise Delaunay, parish of the Holy Family, and Marianne Faïart, daughter of Pierre Faïart, captain of the militia, and Thérèse Axiga.

January 11. Toussaint Loisel, son of Joseph and Jeanne Duchene, native of Pointe au Tremble, diocese of Montreal, and Cécile Brunet, daughter of J. Brunet, second lieutenant of the militia, and Elisabeth Deshayes.

January 14. Mathurin Chapu, son of Michel and Angelique Landrevile (?), native of Vareenes in Canada, and Hélène Dany.

May 2. Antoine Sans Soucy, previously a slave, and Françoise, of the nation of Chetimacka, slave of the Jesuits.

MARRIAGES, 1724-1729³

May 21, 1724. Christopher Pottie, native of the diocese of Bourges, and Agnes Anard, widow of Marc Clement, sergeant of the miners of the king. One ban.

September 11. Louis Turpin, widower of Marie Coulon, and Dorothée Michipeësa, widow of Charles Danis. Three bans.

September 28. Jacques Fouillard of the diocese of Quimper, aged thirty-one years, and Anne, a Natchez Indian. No bans.

April 11, 1725. René Grude, native of Louplande, diocese of Mans, aged thirty-nine years, and Anne Marie Deblé, native of the village of Alber in Germany. Two bans.

March 3, 1726. Jean Baptiste Thaumur, son of Dominique Thaumur and Jeanne Prudhomme, and Marie Françoise Rivart, widow of Joseph Lamy. Two bans.

May 20. Jean Baptiste Texier, son of Jean Baptiste Texier and Elisabeth Desmoulins of Montreal, and Marianne Migneret, daughter of Pierre Migneret and Susanne Kerami. Two bans.

June 3. Antoine Bienvenu and Françoise Rabut. Two bans.

August 5. Jacques H. . . . , Panis, and Thérèse, a free savage. Three bans.

October 20. François Allard, son of Pierre Allard and Marie Lugre, native of the parish of Ste. Anne, and Marie Lorrain, daughter of Joseph Lorrain and . . . of Illinois.

February 12, 1727. Étienne Hebert, son of Ignace Hebert and Marguerite St. Michel, of the parish of Ste. Anne, and Elisabeth Philippe.

February 19. Nicolas Blot, son of Étienne Blot and Marguerite Segnier (?), native of the parish of Chateau Riches, diocese of Quebec, and Thérèse Boisseau of this parish. One ban.

² ANC G1, 412:5 ff.³ *Régistre de la Paroisse*.

October 20. Joseph Sernin (or Lorrin,) native of Montreal, and Josephine Marie Philippe, daughter of Michel Philippe and Marie Rouensa. Three bans.

March 28, 1728. Two negroes. No bans.

May 4. François Bequet, son of Jean Baptiste Bequet and Jeanne Claire Demonté, and Marie Fafart de Boisjoly, widow of Nicolas Cadrin. Two bans.

May 5. Pierre Du Pré, son of Jean Baptiste Du Pré and Françoise, native of Quebec, habitant of Fort de Chartres, and Marie Chekaokia, widow of François Cécile Bontan. Three bans.

June 7. Daniel Le Gras, son of Jean Baptiste Le Gras and Marianne Malette, native of Villemard parish, diocese of Montreal, and Susanne Kerami, widow of Leonard. Three bans.

August 1. François Dionet, son of François Dionet and Madeleine Avariee of Pointe aux Trembles, and Denise, widow of Jean Fabert de Lau . . . ^{dit Le Sautier} . . . re. One ban.

March 29, 1729. Joseph Aubuchon, son of Joseph Aubuchon and Elizabeth Cusson, native of the parish of St. François, diocese of Montreal, and Marie Mean, Panis.

MARRIAGES, 1741-1763⁴

January 23, 1741. Joseph Le Cour of Montreal, and Marie Joseph Le Roy, widow of Jean Baptiste La Pierre.

February 10 (?), 1741. Simon Gautier, native of the parish of the Holy Family, Quebec diocese, and Marie Louise Langlois, native of New Orleans, daughter of Augustin Langlois and Marie . . . Bodereau.

November 20. Nicolas Boyer, son of Antoine Boyer and Louise de L'Amour, habitants of River St. Pierre, and Marie Rose Texier, widow of Pierre Groston St. Ange.

May 29, 1742. Michael Bourdon, native of Amiens, diocese of Limoges, son of Pierre Bourdon and Marie Dufour . . . , and Elisabeth, an Indian, given her freedom by Sieur Blot. One ban.

August 20. Joseph Courtois, native of La Pointe, son of Jean Courtois and Marguerite Argenea . . . , and Marguerite Perthius, widow of Jacques Basson (?). One ban.

September 17. François Lalumandiere, son of François Lalumandiere and Marianne Moran, native of Montreal, and Louise Perthius, native of Detroit. Three bans.

January 18, 1743. Charles Brazeau, son of Charles Brazeau of Montreal and Françoise Mallet, daughter of the late Pierre Mallet and Françoise Rabut. Three bans.

January 30. Paul Rheaume, native of La Chine, son of Simon Rheaume and Elisabeth Bellehumeur (?), and Marie Louise Pillet, daughter of Pierre Pillet and Madeleine B. . . . One ban.

February 5. Jacques Lacourse, native of Three Rivers, son of Pierre Lacourse and Magdeleine Bourbeau, and Jeanne Bienvenu, daughter of Antoine Bienvenu and Françoise Rabut.

February 12. Charles Jannot de la Chapelle, son of Pierre de la Chapelle and Petronilla Texier, and Françoise Lamy, daughter of Joseph Lamy and Françoise Rivard. Three bans.

February 20. Claude Caron, native of Montreal, son of Claude Caron and Jeanne Boyer (?), and Charlotte Lachenais, also born in Montreal, daughter of Philippe Lachenais and Marguerite Texier. Two bans.

⁴ *Ibid.*

September 15. Antoine Chencau *dit* Sanschagrin, master roofer, widower of Cécile Bortan (?), and Dorothée Ariga, widow of Pierre Hulin (Hulin). One ban.

October 29. Joseph Marie Mercier, master wig-maker, native of Kaskaskia, son of the late Louis Mercier and the late Louise La Pointe, and Catherine Deganier, native of Montreal. One ban.

June 1, 1744. Étienne Lalande, born in Kaskaskia, son of Jacques Lalande, captain of the militia, and the late Marie Tetio, and Jeanne Perthius, born in Detroit, daughter of Pierre Perthius and Catherine Malet. Three bans.

June 6. Jean Baptiste Alarič, born in Montreal, son of the late René Alarič and the late Marianne Boyer, and Marie Aubuchon, natural daughter of Pierre Aubuchon.

November 4 (or 11). Pierre La Course, widower of Marie Louise Roy and Elisabeth Bienvenu, daughter of Antoine Bienvenu and Françoise Rabut. Three bans.

January 19, 1745. Jean Baptiste Deganier, native of Montreal, son of Jacques Deganier and Marguerite . . . , and Louise Hulin, born in New Orleans, daughter of the late Pierre Hulin and Dorothée Ariga. One ban.

April 27. Pierre Ignace Bardet La Ferme, formerly surgeon-major, native of the parish of St. Hypolite de Beard, diocese of Hinse, son of the late Jean Pierre Bardet, first surgeon of the marine and Anne Banchaud; and Damoiselle Marianne Barrois, born in Montreal, daughter of Jean Baptiste Barrois, notary, and Dame Magdeleine Cardinal. Three bans.

June 14. Joseph Liberville, native of La Chine, son of Joseph Liberville and Marianne Le Mai, and Marie Louise Langlois, widow of Simon Gautier. Three bans.

June 29. Michel Danis, native of Kaskaskia, son of the late Charles Danis and Dorothée Mich . . . , and Barbe Pillet, native of Kaskaskia, daughter of Pierre Pillet and Magdeleine Boisron. Three bans.

January 9, 1747. Jacques Godefroy, son of Jacques and Marie Chene, native of Detroit, and Françoise Tuillier, daughter of Nicolas Tuillier *dit* Desvignet and Dorothée Mercier. Three bans.

January 23. Jean Baptiste Millot, son of the late Baptiste Millot and Marianne, and Madeleine Pillet, daughter of Pierre Pillet *dit* La Sonde and Catherine Madeleine Boisron.

June 14. François Xavier Rollet, and Marianne Fouillard, widow of Jean Baptiste Girard. One ban.

July 13. Louis Normant *dit* La Bruiere and Agnes Hulin, daughter of the late Pierre Hulin and Dorothée Accica. Two bans.

September 11. Pierre Dumont *dit* La Violette and Agnes Marc (?) widow of the late Augustin St. Ives. Two bans.

September 25. Joseph Forel *dit* Chaponga, and Françoise, widow of Antoine Sansoucy, with the permission of the Chevalier de Bertet. Three bans. (See entry of May 2, 1724.)

November 21. Joseph Choquette and Marie Rose de Guirre. Two bans.

January 7, 1748. Joseph Buchet, *écrivain principal, commissaire, judge*, widower of Marie Françoise Potier, and Marie Louise Michel, daughter of Jacques Michel. One ban.

January 7. François Vallée, son of Charles Vallée and Genevieve Marcon, native of Beauport, and Marianne Billeron, daughter of the late Leonard Billeron, notary, and Marie Claire Catoise.

May 14. Nicolas Boyer, widower of Marie Rose Texier, and Dorothée Olivier, daughter of Jean Baptiste Olivier and Marthe Accica of Kaskaskia. Three bans.

February 3, 1749. Jacques Lacourse, widower of Jeanne Bienvenu, and Charlotte Guillemot, daughter of Jean Baptiste Guillemot *dit* La Lande and Charlotte Marchand. Three bans.

January 13, 1750. Jean Baptiste Benoit de Ste. Claire, captain commandant at Illinois, and Marie Bienvenu, daughter of Antoine Bienvenu, major of the militia, and Françoise Rabut. One ban.

January 27. Louis Cabassier, son of Charles Cabassier and Marguerite Renand, native of Montreal, and Victoire Domé, daughter of the late Charles Domé and Catherine Bicheron.

February 3. Jacques Seguin *dit* la Deroute, and Marie Rose Tuiller, daughter of the late Nicolas Tuiller *dit* Devignet and Dorothée Mercier. Two bans.

March 19. Joseph La Mirande and Hypolite La Fresniere. Three bans.

May 25. François Dirouse, son of Pierre Dirouse *dit* La Verdure and Catherine Ditorni, and Marie Joseph Turpin, daughter of Louis Turpin, captain of the militia, and the late Dorothée. Three bans.

January 12, 1751. Double wedding. Jean Baptiste Marquis and Marie Louise Pillet, widow of Alphonse Paul Rheaume. Étienne Gauvureau and Marie Louise Quesnel.

January 12. Double wedding. Pierre Texier, son of Jean Baptiste Texier *dit* La Vigne and Marianne Migneret, and Marie Madeleine Turpin, daughter of the late Joseph Turpin and Hypolite Chauvin. Pierre Billeron, son of the late Leonard Billeron and Marie Claire Catoise, and Elizabeth Aubuchon, daughter of Pierre Aubuchon and Marie Brumet.

February 2. Prisque Pagé, of the parish of St. Jean Baptiste Dejevireuils (?), and Marie Françoise Michel, daughter of Jacques Michel *dit* Dufrene. Two bans.

April 27. Nicolas Janis, son of the late François Janis and Simone Brussant, and Marie Louise Taumur, daughter of Jean Baptiste Taumur *dit* La Source, *ancien officier de milice*, and Marie Françoise Rivart. Two bans.

November 13, 1751. René le Moine Despins, son of René and Renée St. Pierre, and Marie Jeanne Ste. Jemme, daughter of Jean Baptiste Ste. Jemme and Marie Louise La Croix. Two bans.

November 23. Antoine Capon *dit* Boisetout (?), and Catherine Corset, daughter of François Corset *dit* Coco and Elizabeth Bienvenu. Three bans.

March 21, 1752. Jean Baptiste Dornon, native of Quebec, and Marianne La Fontaine, widow of Antoine Girard, officer of the militia. One ban.

September 4. Alexis Picard, widower of Françoise Riviere, and Marie La Roche, daughter of the late Joseph La Roche and the late Marie La Pointe.

November 6. Louis de Lisle and Damoiselle Marie Thérèse de Vincennes. One ban.

July 17. Antoine Laurent Bienvenu, officer of the militia, and Elisabeth Desvignets. One ban.

January 22, 1754. Michel Place and Marie Louise Texier.

May 14. François Perron and Marianne Fouillard, widow of François Xavier Rollet. Three bans.

February 3, 1755. Louis Longval and Marie Louise La Course. Three bans.

February 4. Daniel Fagot de la Garceniere and Damoiselle Genevieve de Bonaccueil. Two bans.

March 17. Étienne Gauvureau, widower of Marie Louise Quesnel, and Angelique Perthius, widow of Louis Chauvin. Two bans and dispensation for prohibited time.

June 23. Joseph Dubord and Elisabeth Bienvenu, widow of Pierre La Course. Two bans.

July 1. Dominique La Souree, son of Jean Baptiste La Source, *ancien officier de milice*, and Françoise Rivard, and Elisabeth Aubuchon, daughter of Antoine Aubuchon and Elisabeth de Launay. Three bans.

August 19. Joseph Dosa, son of Pierre Dosa and Marguerite Gignard, and Josephine Antaya, daughter of Joseph Antaya and Marie Bodin. Three bans.

September 2. Jean Baptiste Crely, son of Jean Baptiste Crely and N. Aiet, and Angelique Pillet, daughter of Pierre Pillet and Madeleine Boirond. Three bans.

January 10, 1756. Eugene Pouvre *dit* Beausoleil, sergeant in the company of Varemme, and Marie Joseph Godeau, daughter of surgeon Michel Godeau. Three bans.

January 20. Jean Baptiste Couturier and Catherine Petit. Three bans.

February 3. François Antoine Drouet, *écuyer*, Sieur de Bajolet of Post Vincennes, and Françoise Outlas. Three bans.

June 20. Antoine Beauvais and Françoise Diel. Three bans.

July 13. Antoine Gilbert *dit* Sanspeur and Dorothée Mercier, widow of Nicolas Desvignets. Three bans.

August 24. André de Guiere, son of André de Guiere, captain of the militia at Ste. Genevieve, and Elisabeth Brunet, and Marguerite Gouverneau, daughter of Etienne Gouverneau, and the late Marie Millet. Three bans.

October 12. Jean Baptiste Maurice, widower of Marguerite Cressman (or Creppmann), of Nouvelle Chartres, and Marie Jeanne Corset, daughter of François Corset and Elizabeth Bienvenu. Three bans.

November 8, 1757. Henri Carpentier, Nouvelle Chartres, and Marie Aubuchon, daughter of Pierre Aubuchon and Marie Brunet. Three bans.

November 22. Nicolas Caillot *dit* La Chanse and Marianne Giard. Three bans.

January 12, 1758. Leonard Billeron *dit* La Fatigue, and Catherine La Bruyere.

January 24. Étienne Nicole, habitant of Kaskaskia, and Marie Angelique Giard. Three bans.

May 23. Joseph Liberville, widower of Marie Louise Langlois, and Marie Madeleine Monique Boudrand, widow of Jean Baptiste Richard. Three bans.

November 28. Joseph Labole, widower of Marguerite Saint Louis, and Jeanne Ken narde, widow of Robert Cocherin. Three bans.

November 30. Jean Baptiste La Source, son of Jean Baptiste, *ancien officier de milice*, and Marie Françoise Rivard, and Catherine Beauvais, daughter of Raphael Beauvais and Catherine Alaric. Three bans.

January 31, 1759. Louis Tirard *dit* St. Jean and Marie Josephine, daughter of Jean Baptiste de Guiere.

February 6. Pierre Baron and Louise Marguerite Godeau. Three bans.

February 13. Jean Baptiste Gilbert and Charlotte, daughter of Valentin Moreau. Two bans.

February 14. Jean Baptiste Olivier and Dorothée Pillet. One ban.

January 30, 1760. Antoine La Framboise, habitant of Vincennes, and Elisabeth Beauvais. One ban.

February 18. Mon. Dussault de la Croix, officer of the troops, son of Dussault de la Croix, chevalier of the order of St. Louis, major of the town of Gap in Dauphiné, and Dame Marie Françoise Borel; married Dame Marie Thérèse Aufrere, widow of Antoine de Gruys, lieutenant of the troops of the marine, with Macarty's permission. One ban.

May 5. Antoine La Source, son of Jean Baptiste La Source and Dame Marie Rivard, and Marianne Roy, daughter of the late Jacques Roy and Catherine Felix, habitants of Mobile. One ban, published in Fort de Chartres.

May 13. François Corset, son of François Corset *dit Coco* and Elisabeth Bienvenu, and Françoise Scionaux, daughter of Louis Scionaux and Françoise Melique. Three bans.

June 2. Charles Bienvenu, son of the late François Bienvenu and Marianne Le Moine, native of Detroit, and Elisabeth Guilmon, daughter of Jean Baptiste Guilmon *dit La Lande* and Charlotte Marchand. Two bans.

June 17. Daniel Blouin, native of Segonzac in Saintonge (?), son of Jean Pierre Blouin and Marie Marguerite Baud, and Helene Charleville, daughter of Joseph Chauvin *dit Charleville* and Genevieve Rivard. One ban.

January 7, 1761. Jacques Desvignets, son of the late Nicolas Désvignets and Dorothée Mercier, and Marie Anne Seguin, daughter of Joseph Seguin and Françoise, savage, of Champlain. Three bans.

January 18, 1762. Basile La Chapelle, son of Jean Janot La Chapelle and Marie Du Rivage, native of the parish of Pointe Aux Tremble, and Louise La Lumandiere, daughter of François La Lumandiere and Louise Perthius. Three bans.

April 28. Charles Brazeau, son of Charles Brazeau and Françoise Melot, habitant of Du Rocher, and Marie Louise Alaric. Three bans.

June 4. Raphael Beauvais, widower of Catherine Alaric, and Marie Françoise, savage, widow of Joseph Seguin of Boucherville. Two bans.

July 3. Antoine Maurin, son of Antoine Maurin and Marguerite Dagneau, native of St. François, and Pelagie Antaya, daughter of Antoine Pelletier and Marie Anne Doza. Three bans.

September 14. Paul Jusseaume *dit St. Pierre*, of Vincennes, son of Leonard Jusseaume and Angelique La Porte of Montreal, and Thérèse Turpin, daughter of the late Louis Turpin and Dorothée. One ban.

February 9, 1763. Pierre Gueret *dit Dumont*, son of Pierre Gueret and Josephine Aube of St. Louis, diocese of Quebec, and Pelagie Millot, daughter of Jean Baptiste Millot and Magdeleine Pillet. Three bans.

April 11. Monsieur Philippe François de Rastel, chevalier de Rocheblave, officer of the troops of this colony, native of Savournon, diocese of Gap in Dauphiné, son of Monsieur Jean Joseph de Rastel, chevalier, Marquis de Rocheblave, Seigneur de Savournon and Dame Diane Elizabeth Dillon; married Dame Marie Michel Dufrésne, daughter of Sieur Jacques Michel Dufrésne, habitant, officer of the militia of this parish, and Marie Françoise Henry, with the permission of De Villiers, commandant. One ban.

May 3. Conrad Seeloff *dit Caulet*, king's baker at Fort de Chartres, native of Dietz in diocese of Mayence, and Magdeleine Manuel, daughter of Jean Manuel and Jeanne La Parriere, habitant of this parish. One ban.

July 21. Claude Le Mieux, son of François le Mieux and Angelique Goulet of St. Antoine, in the diocese of Quebec, and Marguerite Desgagniers, daughter of Jean Baptiste Desgagniers and Marie Louise Hullin. Three bans.

November 16. Joseph Crely, son of the late Jean Baptiste Crely and Françoise Ayet, and Thérèse Godeau, daughter of Michel Godeau, surgeon and Marie Thérèse Huchet.

NOTES ON THE CENSUS OF 1752¹

Included in the Vaudreuil manuscripts among the Loudoun collection owned by the Huntington Library is a census of the Illinois country taken at the orders of the commandant, Macarty, in 1752. It isn't complete; there are records of many other persons not listed who were residents of Illinois in that year, but it is the most detailed document of its kind. The following notes have been made in an attempt to construct a rudimentary genealogy of the Illinois French families. Sources of information are cited in parenthesis in the text, rather than in footnotes; in general, each reference covers all the material intervening between it and the preceding reference.

KASKASKIA

Mme De MonCherveau

Jean François Tisseran de Montcharvaux, son of François and of Marie Louise de Vienne of St. Pierre, diocese of Langres. At Quebec, June 3, 1721, he married Marie Thérèse l'Archeveque, daughter of Jacques and of Marie Madeleine Hayot, baptized at Ste. Foye March 23, 1699. Tanguay lists four sons born to the couple:

1. Jean François, baptized at Quebec May 13, 1724.
2. Pierre, baptized at Quebec July 16, 1725.
3. Charles, baptized at Quebec by Mgr. de St. Vallier September 3, 1727.
4. Jean Louis Joseph, baptized at Quebec August 23, 1729. (Tanguay, I, 349; III, 330).

In 1737 he married Marie Agnes Chassin at Kaskaskia; without doubt she was one of the daughters of Agnes Philippe and Nicolas Michel Chassin. Although one document dated 1751 speaks of him as being a man with a large family, I have only the record of one birth to him and his second wife, that of a daughter, Marie Agnes, born and baptized at Fort de Chartres, February 2, 1753. (Fort de Chartres Parish Register, 73). A son, an ensign in garrison at Fort de Chartres, was killed in 1758 in a duel with another ensign, Pierre de Verges, son of Chevalier Bernard de Verges, engineer-in-chief of Louisiana.

The elder Montcharvaux was an ensign in 1732; lieutenant, October 15, 1736; and captain, December 1, 1747. (ANC D2C4). In October, 1743, he was commanding the post of the Arkansas. He was in charge of the Illinois convoy in 1749 and was accused of improper conduct in connection with his supervision of the trip. In 1756 he was in command of a company of twenty-four men at Kaskaskia (ANC D2C51:24-28).

Les R. p. Jesuites

The Jesuit establishment at Kaskaskia. Father Philibert Watrin was in charge there from 1746 until 1764.

Fr. Vallé

François Vallé, son of Charles and Genevieve Crete, born and baptized at Beauport January 2, 1716. Married Marianne Billeron, daughter of Leonard Billeron *dit La Fatigue*, royal notary at Kaskaskia, and Marie Claire Catois, who was born in 1720 and died in 1781. He was the father of:

1. Marie Louise, born about 1750, married Louis DuBreuil Villars.
2. Charles, married Pélagie Carpentier, died about 1852.
3. Joseph, born 1756, killed by the Indians when he was 21 years of age.
4. François, born 1758, died 1804. Married Marie Carpentier, daughter of Henri and Marie Aubuchon.
5. Jean Baptiste, born September 25, 1760, baptized October 3; died August 3, 1849. Married Jeanne Barbeau, daughter of Baptiste Barbeau and Marie Jeanne LeGras of Prairie du Rocher. (*Mo. Hist. Soc. Pub.*, II:60-61; *Régistre de la Paroisse*).

¹ *Recencement General du Pays des Illinois de 1752*. HML 426:1-7.

François Vallé was a *volontaire* in Kaskaskia in 1746; on April 27, 1746, on the eve of his departure for the Wabash, he made a will leaving altogether the sum of 6,000 livres. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, IV).

Joh. Mersie

Joseph Mercier, master wig-maker, son of Louis and Louise la Pointe, baptized at Quebec October 10, 1713. He married first Suzanne Mailhot (1709-Nov. 8, 1739) at Montreal, and was the father of:

1. Joseph, baptized April 30, 1736 at Montreal.

His second wife was Marie Catherine Déganier (or Désagagnes), a native of Montreal, whom he married October 29, 1743, at Kaskaskia. They were the parents of:

1. Marie Catherine, baptized February 28, died April 16, 1745, at Cahokia.
2. Jacques, baptized January 14, 1760.
3. Pierre Joseph, baptized October 15, 1761. (Tanguay, V, 606, I, 425; *Régistre de la Paroisse*).

Veuve Loui Chovin

Probably Angélique Perthius, widow of Louis Chauvin, who, it appears, was the son of Jules Chauvin and Angélique Dérounsay of Montreal and the brother of Philippe Chauvin *dit Joyeuse*. Widow Chauvin married Étienne Gouvereau, widower of Marie Louise Quesnel, March 17, 1755. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*). Her son, Louis Chauvin, married Marianne Francoeur, a native of Arkansas, daughter of Joseph Francoeur, in February, 1770. (*La. Hist. Quart.*, VI, 373).

Pire Deninel

Sr. CharLevil

Joseph Chauvin Charleville, rich merchant of Kaskaskia. The Chauvin families of Kaskaskia seem to be hopelessly mixed up, but it would seem that Joseph was the son of Jules (possibly the Gilles which appears in Tanguay) and Angélique Dérounsay (see entry for *Veuve Loui Chovin*, above). His wife was Genevieve Rivard. Doubtless they had more than two children but I have records of only:

1. Hélène, married June 17, 1760, to Daniel Blouin, son of Jean Pierre and Marie Marguerite Baud, a native of Xaintonge. A daughter, Hélène, was born to this couple July 25, 1761. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

2. Jean Baptiste who married Françoise Brazeau, daughter of Joseph and Françoise Dizier. (*Abstracts*).

Ni. Boye

Nicolas Boyer, tenth of the nineteen children of Nicolas Antoine and Louise Payet *dit St. Amour*, baptized at Montreal, April 21, 1716. (Tanguay, II, 444). He married first Marie Rose Texier, daughter of Louis Texier and Catherine, an Indian, widow of Pierre Groston St. Ange, on November 20, 1741. She died December 12, 1747. His second wife was Dorothee Olivier, daughter of Jean Baptiste Olivier and Marthe, an Indian. Their children included:

1. Jacques, born December 9, 1759.
2. Marie Louise, born February 14, 1763. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

Joh. Tesier LaVigne

The Texier family was a numerous one in Kaskaskia, and the relationships are not altogether clear. Quite possibly this Joseph was the son of Jean Baptiste Texier and Élisabeth Desmoulins, baptized at Montreal March 19, 1711, and married in 1735 to Marie Cusson. (Tanguay, VII, 275). His brother, Jean Baptiste, baptized October 22, 1699, at Montreal, married Marianne Migneret at Kaskaskia May 20, 1726. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*). Of course, it is equally possible that the

Joseph listed in the Census was a son of Jean Baptiste and Marianne, or even of the Joseph given above, by a previous and unrecorded marriage.

J. Bt. Crely

Jean Baptiste Crely, cooper of Kaskaskia. His wife was Marie Françoise Ajet. Their son, Jean Baptiste, married Angélique Pilet *dit* La Sonde, daughter of Pierre Pilet and Catherine Madeleine Boisron, September 2, 1755. Their son, Joseph, married Thérèse Godeau, daughter of Surgeon Michel Godeau and Thérèse Huchet, November 16, 1763. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*). Joseph's second wife was Marie Louise Marquis, daughter of Jean Baptiste and Marie Pilet, whom he married in 1768. (*Abstracts*).

Charle Braso

Charles Brazeau, son of Charles Brazeau of Montreal. He married Françoise Melot (variously spelled), daughter of Pierre Melot and Françoise Rabut January 18, 1743. There was a son, Charles, for whom guardians were elected January 23, 1747. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, V). He married Marie Louise Alarie, daughter of François and Domitilla Baillargeon, April 28, 1762. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

fre. Godo

Unless the census-taker meant Sr. Godo instead of François Godeau, I am unable to identify this individual. Sieur Godeau would have been Michel Godeau, surgeon, who arrived at Kaskaskia with the autumn convoy in 1751 and was still there on January 10, 1756, when his daughter, Marie Joseph, married Eugène Pouvré *dit* Beausoleil, sergeant in the company of Varenne, at Kaskaskia. Another daughter, Thérèse, married Joseph Crely (see *J. Bt. Crely*, above) November 16, 1763. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

fre. Corset dt. Coquo

François Corset *dit* Coco, *habitant*. On May 2, 1737, three arpents *en face* at Prairie du Rocher, stretching from the hills to the Mississippi, were granted to him. (*American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, map of Prairie du Rocher). His wife was Élisabeth Bienvenu, possibly a daughter of Philippe and Françoise Alarie. He was the father of:

1. François, who married Françoise Scionnaux Désmoulins, daughter of Louis and of Françoise Melique, May 13, 1740.

2. Catherine, married Antoine Capon *dit* Boisetout November 23, 1751.

3. Marie Jeanne, married Jean Baptiste Maurice *dit* Chatillon, widower of Marguerite Cressman, October 12, 1756. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

J. B. Dégaigné

Jean Baptiste Dégagné, son of Jacques and Marguerite Jousset, baptized at Montreal September 5, 1717. He married Louise Hulin, daughter of Pierre Hulin and Dorothée, an Indian, on January 19, 1745, after the publication of one ban. (Tanguay, III, 373; *Régistre de la Paroisse*).

St. Cerny

Raimond Brosse *dit* St. Cerny, habitant of Kaskaskia (in Kaskaskia in 1726). On June 27, 1744, the eve of his departure for New Orleans, he made a will bequeathing 300 livres to the church, 300 livres to his god-daughter, Agnes Hulin, and all else to his good friend Jean Henry *dit* La Rose. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, IV).

Veuve Lafatigue

Marie Claire Catois, widow of Leonard Billeron *dit* Lafatigue, royal notary of Illinois from July 22, 1734, until his death in 1740, and one of the few widows of the Illinois who remained unmarried. Her children were:

1. Leonard, who married Catherine la Brier January 12, 1758.
2. Pierre, who married Élizabeth Aubuchon January 12, 1751.
3. Joseph.
4. Marianne, who married François Vallé January 7, 1748 (see entry for François Vallé, above).
5. Jacques. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

Pire Lafatigue

Pierre Lafatigue, son of Leonard Billeron *dit* Lafatigue and Marie Claire Catois (see entry above).

Veuve Rolette

Probably Marianne Fouillard, who was the widow of Jean Baptiste Girard when she married François Xavier Rollet, June 14, 1747. On May 14, 1754, she married François Perron. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

Charle Lachapel

Charles de LaChapelle, son of Pierre de LaChapelle and Petronilla Texier, natives of Canada. He married Françoise, daughter of Joseph Lamy and Françoise Rivard, February 12, 1743, at Kaskaskia. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*). Although Tanguay lists twelve children of Pierre LaChapelle and Petronilla he gives none by the name of Charles.

Claude Caron

Eighth child of Claude Caron and his second wife, Jeanne Boyer, baptized at Montreal July 12, 1714. (Tanguay, II, 548). He married Charlotte Lachenais, daughter of Philippe Lachenais and Marguerite Texier, February 29, 1743. Their children included:

1. Élisabeth, born March 6, 1760.
2. Marie Joseph, born April 19, 1761.
3. Jean Baptiste, born December 27, 1763. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

J. B. LaSource

Jean Baptiste Thaumur de la Source, son of Dominique, surgeon, and Jeanne Prudhomme, baptized August 20, 1696, at Montreal, died February 26, 1777, at Kaskaskia. (Tanguay, I, 564; VII, 288). He married Marie Françoise Rivard, widow of Joseph Lamy, March 3, 1726. He was the father of:

1. Jean Baptiste, who married Catherine, daughter of Raphael Beauvais and Catherine Alarie, November 30, 1758.
2. Dominique, who married Élisabeth, daughter of Antoine Aubuchon and Élisabeth Delaunay, July 1, 1755.
3. Marie Louise, who married Nicolas, son of François Janis and Simone Brussant, April 27, 1751.
4. Antoine, who married Marianne, daughter of Jacques Roy of Mobile and Catherine Felix, May 5, 1760. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

J. B. Marqui

Jean Baptiste Marquis, blacksmith. On September 14, 1740, he entered into a partnership with Joseph Chauvin Charleville for three years, during which Charleville agreed to feed, house, and clothe the smith and to provide the fuel needed for his forge. At the end of the period, after Marquis took out 300 livres, the profits were to be divided half and half. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, IV). On January 12, 1751, Marquis married Marie Louise Pilet *dit* Lasonde, daughter of Pierre and Catherine Madeleine Boisron and widow of Alphonse Paul Rheaume. Their daughter, Marie Louise, married Joseph Crely in 1768. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

Veuve Denie Dt. Verono

Probably Marthe Hubert, who was the wife of Jean Baptiste Denis Veronneau in 1748. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, VII). He may have been the son of Denis Veronneau and Catherine Guerlin, baptized December 23, 1695, at Boucher-ville. (Tanguay, VII, 445). His daughter, Marie, married Antoine Aubuchon, son of Antoine and Élisabeth Delaunay in 1766. (Houck, *Spanish Regime*, I, 97n).

frc. LaSource

François LaSource. Probably the brother of Jean Baptiste de la Source (see above). He was baptized at Montreal in 1699 and married Marie Louise Langlois at Montreal in 1735. (Tanguay, VII, 288).

frc. Alarie

François Alarie. Probably the son of René Alarie (spelled variously Alary, Allarie, Alarie, Allary, Allard, Olary) and of Marie Royer. Tanguay gives the last of René's fourteen children as François Joseph, baptized at Montreal May 5, 1708. (Tanguay I, 4; II, 21). On June 6, 1740, François and Catherine, children of the late René Alary and Marie Royer, were living in Kaskaskia. Jean Baptiste, who, like François, was a *voyageur*, was living at River St. Joseph at that time, but on June 6, 1744, Jean married Marie Aubuchon, natural daughter of Pierre Aubuchon at Kaskaskia. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, III; *Régistre de la Paroisse*).

François was the husband of Domitilla Baillargeon and father of:

1. Marie Louise, married Charles Brazeau April 28, 1762.
2. Jacques, born June 12, 1759.
3. Hyacinthe, born October 7, 1760. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

Mineurs de Louis Turpin

Louis Turpin, captain of the militia of Kaskaskia, one of the Illinois country's wealthiest merchants, was the son of Pierre Alexandre Turpin and his second wife, Marie Charlotte Beauvais. Louis himself, baptized May 15, 1694, at Montreal, had three wives. His first was Marie Coulon who died at Kaskaskia February 24, 1724, at the age of 22 years. By her he had two children:

1. Louis, born September 17, 1720, died November 7, 1722.
2. Élisabeth, born February 24, 1724, baptized the next day. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

His second wife whom he married September 11, 1724, was Dorothée Mechiperouta, the widow of Charles Danis. She had already had three children by Danis; she bore Louis Turpin at least seven children:

1. A daughter who died October 2, 1726, at the age of 3. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

2. Agnes, baptized March 9, 1726, at Fort de Chartres. (*Ill. Catholic Hist. Rev.*, I, 498).

3. Marie, born about 1731. Entered the Order of Ste. Ursula at the convent in New Orleans as a postulant, June 27, 1749, made her profession January 29, 1752, and died November 21, 1761. She was the first nun born within the later limits of the United States according to Father Kenny. (Order of Ste. Ursula, Private Archives, IV).

4. Marie Josephe, baptized February 14, 1733, married May 25, 1750, to François Derousse. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

5. Louise Françoise, born about 1737. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, January 11, 1747).

6. Jeanne, born about 1739. (*Ibid.*).

7. Thérèse, born about 1741. Married September 14, 1762, to Paul Jusseaume dit St. Pierre of Vincennes. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

Louis Turpin's third wife was Hélène Hebert, daughter of Ignace and of Hélène Danis of Fort de Chartres, whom he married March 20, 1751. She married Henri Carpentier December 29, 1752.

Raph. Beauvay

Raphael Beauvais, son of Raphael Beauvais and Élisabeth Turpin, baptized April 20, 1705, at Montreal. On February 5, 1737, he entered into a marriage contract with Marie Catherine Alarie, daughter of the deceased Jacques Alarie and the deceased Marie Jeanne, *Illinoise*, widow of Philippe Outellas. He was the cousin and also the nephew of Louis Turpin (see above), because Élisabeth Turpin was the half-sister of Louis, and because Louis was the son of Marie Charlotte Beauvais, the sister of the elder Raphael. (Tanguay, II, 178; Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, II). On June 4, 1762, Raphael married Marie Françoise, an Indian, the widow of Joseph Seguin of Boucherville. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*). By his first wife, Raphael was the father of at least two children:

1. Alexis who married Thérèse Danis in November, 1786. (*Abstracts*).
2. Catherine, who married Jean Baptiste la Source, son of Jean Baptiste la Source and Françoise Rivard, November 30, 1758. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

M. J. G. Dufrenne

Jacques Michel Dufresne, officer of the militia at Kaskaskia. His wife was Marie Françoise Henry. Their children were:

1. Marie Michel, who married Philippe François, Chevalier de Rocheblave, April 11, 1763.
2. Marie Louise, who married Joseph Buchet, *écrivain principal*, widower of Marie Françoise Potier, January 7, 1748.
3. Marie Françoise who married Prisque Pagé, February 2, 1751. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

Je. Fr. Dielle

Jean François Dielle (variously spelled Guelle, Diel), master carpenter of Kaskaskia, who was in the village at least as early as June 3, 1739. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, III). His wife was Marie Françoise Potier, the aunt of Thérèse St. Yves, minor daughter of Agnes Clement, wife of Augustin St. Yves. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, I, September 4, 1747).

pierre Dosa

A hunter who was living in Kaskaskia in the fall of 1740. His wife was Marguerite Gignard. A son, Noel Joseph, married Josephine, daughter of Joseph Peltier *dit* Antaya and Marie Bodin, August 19, 1755. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

J. B. Bourbonoy

Jean Baptiste Brunet *dit* Bourbonnois probably an old man by this time. His wife was Élisabeth Deshayes. Their children included:

1. Cécile, born in 1710, baptized November 24, 1712, at Kaskaskia. Her first husband was Toussaint Loisel, whom she married January 11, 1724, and her second was Antoine Henaux. She died at Fort de Chartres December 23, 1743.
2. Marie, baptized at Kaskaskia November 23, 1712, and married to Pierre Aubuchon, son of Joseph Aubuchon and Élisabeth Cusson.
3. Élisabeth, married first to Charles Joseph Delaunay, then to André De guire *dit* La Rose, June, 1729. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*; Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers II, June 11, 1729).

*pire flamand soldat**Veuve Giard*

Probably Marianne Lafontaine, widow of Antoine Girard, officer of the militia. On March 21, 1752, she married Jean Baptiste Dornon, of Quebec, at Kaskaskia. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*). On January 9, 1738, three arpents above Fort de Chartres were surveyed for Antoine Girard. (*American State Papers, Public*

Lands II, map after p. 186). In 1744 he was guardian of Damoiselle Marie Vincennes, minor daughter of François Margane de Vincennes. (Kaskaskia MSS. Private Papers, I).

J. B. Milot

Jean Baptiste Milot, *voyageur commerçant* of Kaskaskia. He was the son of Jean Baptiste Milot and Marianne, and married Madeleine Pilet, daughter of Pierre Pilet *dit* Lasonde and Catherine Madeleine Boisron, January 23, 1747, at Kaskaskia. He was the father of:

1. François, born June 19, 1759.
2. Marie Thérèse, born July 31, 1760.
3. Félicité, born December 16, 1761.
4. Pélagie, who married Pierre Gueret *dit* Dumont February 9, 1763. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

fre. La Lumandière

François Lalumandière *dit* La Fleur, master tailor, son of François, soldier of Marigny and Marie Anne Morand, baptized at Montreal November 25, 1715. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers VII; Tanguay, V, 105). He married Louise Perthius, a native of Detroit, and the daughter of Pierre Perthius and Catherine Malet, September 17, 1742. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*). He was the father of:

1. Marianne, who married Jean Baptiste Pratte, June 30, 1766, at St. Louis. (*Ill. Catholic Hist. Rev.*, V, 130n).
2. Louise, who married Basile LaChapelle January 18, 1762.
3. Joseph, born December 7, 1759.
4. Jean Baptiste, born June 16, 1762. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

Veuve de Veignoit

Dorothée Mercier. Her first husband was Pierre Chabot, who died August 7, 1721, aged 60 years. By him she was the mother of:

1. Pierre, born February 15, 1721.

Her second husband was Nicolas Thuillier *dit* Devegnais. He died late in 1747 or in January, 1748. Their children were:

1. Jean Baptiste, born September 5, 1723.
2. Françoise, married January 9, 1747, to Jacques Godefroy.
3. Marie Rose, married February 3, 1750, to Jacques Seguin *dit* Laderoute.
4. Jacques, married January 7, 1751, to Marianne Seguin. On July 13, 1756, she married Antoine Gilbert *dit* Sanspeur. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

Joh. Liberville dit Joson

Joseph Liberville *dit* Joson (or Joyeuse), *voyageur négociant* of Kaskaskia, native of La Chine, the son of Joseph Liberville and Marianne le Mai. He married Marie Louise, daughter of Augustin Langlois and Louise Beaudreau, and widow of Simon Gautier June 14, 1745. His second wife was Marie Madeleine Beaudron, widow of Jean Baptiste Richard, whom he married May 23, 1758. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

Ja G. Godefroy

Jacques Gabriel Godefroy, son of Jacques Godefroy and Marie Chesne, native of Detroit. Tanguay (IV, 314) lists Jacques, the son of this couple, baptized at Detroit January 6, 1722, and married first to Françoise Leveillé and second, January 23, 1758, to Louise Clotilde Chapoton, at Detroit; this may be the same man, though it might seem that Tanguay confused two men of the same name. However that may be, this Jacques of the census married Françoise Thuillier, daughter of Nicolas Thuillier *dit* Dévegnais and Dorothée Mercier (see entry for *Veuve de Veignoit*, above), in January, 1747. On April 6, 1753, as he was leaving to make his

home in Detroit, he bought some land in Detroit from Jacques Laderoute of Kaskaskia. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*; Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, VIII).

Sr. Monbrun

Pierre Boucher de Monbrun, Sieur de la Seaudrais, tenth of the thirteen children of René Jean Boucher de Monbrun and his first wife, Françoise Claire Charest, baptized February 2, 1710, died late in 1775 or early in 1776. (Whitefort, *A Genealogy and History*, 5). He married Antoinette, daughter of Étienne Langlois and Marie Catherine Beaudreau, sometime before December 30, 1730. In 1776 there were three living children of this couple: 174
 1. Louis de Monbrun. 15-02
 2. Placide.
 3. Marie Thérèse who married Jean Baptiste Beauvais, son of Jean Baptiste and of Louise Lacroix.

Pierre was the brother of Jean Baptiste Monbrun, Sieur de St. Laurent, and of François Monbrun, Sieur de Bonaceuil, all of whom came to Illinois in 1727 and married Illinois women. (Whitefort, *ibid.*; and Kaskaskia MSS.).

J. Joh. Courtois

Jean Joseph Courtois, native of La Pointe and the son of Jean Courtois and of Marguerite. On August 4, 1734, he was engaged by Jean Baptiste Monbrun to go to the Illinois (*Rapport de L'Archiviste* 1929-1930, 315). He married Marguerite Perthius, widow of Jacques Baston, August 20, 1742. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

Louis Tiberge

Louis Alexandre Tiberge, *commercant* of Kaskaskia. His wife was Françoise Dubois, daughter of Louis Dubois, officer of the marine, and Françoise, a Missouri Indian. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, V; *La. Hist. Quart.*, XXI, 1013 ff.).

Louis Cabassier

Louis Marie Cabassier, son of Charles Cabassier and Marguerite Angélique Renault, baptized at Montreal July 17, 1710. (Tanguay, II, 513). He married Victoire Claude Domé, daughter of the late Charles Domé and Catherine Bicheron, January 27, 1750. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*). On February 1, 1751, she petitioned to be allowed to renounce the community with her husband because his debts were absorbing her patrimony, and the petition was granted. (Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, III). In 1766 he was notary at Ste. Genevieve. The couple were the parents of:

1. Jean Baptiste, born December 22, 1759.
2. François Xavier, baptized February 6, 1762.
3. Marie Catherine, born December 13, 1763. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

J. B. Chaponga

Possibly related to Joseph Forel *dit* Chaponga who in March, 1739, was a *volontaire* of Kaskaskia, and who married Françoise, widow of Antoine Sansoucy, September 25, 1747. (Kaskaskia MSS.; *Régistre de la Paroisse*).

Joh. Chenier

There were a number of Cheniers in Kaskaskia. Claude Chenier was the husband of Marie Louise Brunet, daughter and heiress of François Brunet. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*). Joseph may have been related to him.

J. G. La Course

Jacques Gabriel la Course, native of Three Rivers, son of Pierre la Course and Marie Madeleine Bourbeau, baptized at Three Rivers, April 28, 1710. (Tanguay, IV, 231). He married, February 5, 1743, Jeanne Bienvenu, daughter of Antoine Bienvenu and Françoise Rabut. On February 3, 1749, he married Charlotte

Guillemot, daughter of Jean Baptiste Guillemot *dit* Lalande and Charlotte Marchand. At that time he lived at St. Joachim (Ste. Genevieve). Although he doubtless had other children, the only one of whom I have a record is Marie Louise, baptized October 14, 1759. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

On April 23, 1739, he bought a house, stable, cows, etc., in St. Joachim from Jean Baptiste DeGuire for 1,300 livres. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, IX).

Veuve La Course

Probably Élisabeth Bienvenu, daughter of Antoine Bienvenu and Françoise Rabut, who married Pierre la Course, widower of Marie Louise Roy, on November 4 (or possibly November 11), 1744. She married a second time on June 23, 1755, to Joseph Dubord, and died sometime before January 11, 1762. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*). By her second husband she was the mother of a daughter, Élisabeth.

J. B. Richard

Jean Baptiste Richard, merchant, called Le Parisien to distinguish him from Daniel Richard, another Kaskaskia merchant. He killed Henri Caton in the village in a drunken brawl in 1738 and was tried for murder, but acquitted, apparently on the grounds that he had acted in self-defense. His wife was Marie Madeleine Monique Beaudron. On May 23, 1758, she married Joseph Liberville (see entry for Liberville, above). (Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, I; *Régistre de la Paroisse*).

Michel Domni et son frere

A Jean Jacques Domené was godfather to a child born in St. Philippe October 19, 1740. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 10).

Pire Obuchon

Pierre Aubuchon, son of Joseph Aubuchon and Élisabeth Cusson, and brother of Joseph, Antoine, Jean Baptiste, and Louis Aubuchon. He was the father of Marie, the illegitimate daughter of a Natchez Indian, who married Jean Baptiste Alarie, son of René Alarie and Marianne Royer, June 6, 1744 (see entry for Françoise Alarie, above). Pierre's wife was Marie Brunet *dit* Bourbonnais, daughter of Jean Baptiste Brunet and Élisabeth Deshayes (see entry, above, for Jean Baptiste Bourbonnais). Their children included:

1. Élisabeth, who married Pierre Billeron, son of the notary, January 12, 1751 (see entry for him, above).

2. Marie, who married Henri Carpentier, November 8, 1757. Their daughter, Marie, married François Vallé, son of François Vallé and Marianne Billeron (see entry, above, for François Vallé).

Antoine Peltier dit Antaya

The Peltier family came from Detroit. According to Tanguay (I, 471; VI, 279), Antoine was the son of Michel Peltier and Françoise Meneux, baptized at L'Île Dupas in February, 1706, and died September 14, 1795, at Kaskaskia. His wife was Marianne Doza, whom Tanguay lists as Marie Dauza, *Algonkine*. It is more likely that she was the sister of Pierre Doza (see entry for him, above). They were the parents of:

1. Marie Agnes, baptized July 3, 1722, at Batiscan.
2. Marie Madeleine, baptized December 14, 1724, at Batiscan.
3. Marie Charlotte, baptized at Batiscan January 15, 1729. (Tanguay, *ibid.*).
4. Pélagié, who married Antoine Maurin, son of Antoine Maurin and Marguerite Dagneau, July 3, 1762. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

Joseph Peltier, Antoine's brother, was the father of Joseph, who married Joseph Doza, son of Pierre Doza and Marguerite Gignard, August 19, 1755. (*Ibid.*)

Louis Beaure

Louis Boré (the more common spelling), according to Grace King, historian of Louisiana, was the grandson and great-grandson of men who were First Counsellors to the French king. His father was Louis Boré, his mother Élisabeth de Beaupré. (*Abstracts*). Sometime in 1740 he married Céleste Thérèse Carriere, daughter of Antoine Carriere and Marie Madeleine Quesnel, born November 20, 1723. They were the parents of:

KM 1743
1743 Mar

1. Jean Baptiste Étienne, born in 1740. He was educated (again according to Miss King, who cites no documents) in France in the household of the King as befitting a boy of noble birth, married Marguerite Marie des Trehans des Tours, daughter of the ex-treasurer of Louisiana. He returned to Louisiana in 1772, settled down on his plantation outside New Orleans, and there was the first to successfully refine cane sugar in 1795.

2. Jeanne Marguerite.

3. Marie Jeanette, who married Antoine Césire, son of Joseph Césire and Marie Jeanne Trotier of La Chine, at Cahokia September 3, 1753.

Louis Boré was captain of the Kaskaskia militia in 1758 and apparently one of the leading habitants of the Illinois. He had a three-story stone house near the middle of the village which he built sometime in the 1740's.

Antoine Bienvenu

The son of Philippe Bienvenu of Cannes, France, and Françoise Alarie; he married Françoise Rabut, widow of Pierre Melet at Kaskaskia June 3, 1726. Their children included:

1. Marie, married January 13, 1750, to Monsieur Benoist de Ste. Claire (see note on him below). Her second husband was René Harpain de la Gauthrais, widower of Céleste Thérèse Nepveu.

2. Jeanne, married February 5, 1743, to Jacques la Course, son of Pierre la Course and Madeleine Bourbeau (see note above).

3. Élisabeth, married Pierre la Course in November, 1744. She married a second time to Joseph Dubord, June 23, 1755; she had died by January 11, 1762, for on that date Dubord married Louise Carmouche.

4. Antoine, born in 1731, died May 11, 1805. His second wife was Louise Danis, born in 1753 and died in 1788. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

This family, descended from Philippe, master carpenter, who came to Illinois about 1710 from France, is confused by Tanguay with that of the family Bienvenu *dit Delisle* which came from Detroit in the late years of the French régime. In Illinois they were generally known by the name Delisle.

Antoine Gouveraux

J. B. Beauvais

Jean Baptiste Beauvais, wealthy merchant of Kaskaskia. He was the son of Raphael Beauvais and Élisabeth Turpin, baptized May 11, 1698, one of their eleven children. His wife was Marie Louise LaCroix, born about 1704; they were married by 1733. Among their children were:

1. Jean Baptiste, who married Thérèse Monbrun, daughter of Pierre Monbrun (see above), January 29, 1770.

2. Marie Jeanne, who married René Lemoine, Sieur Despins, son of René Alexandre Lemoine and Marie Renée Le Boulanger, November 13, 1751. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*; Tanguay, V, 337).

No doubt there were many other children, but so far I have been unable to distinguish between the children of Jean Baptiste and his brother Raphael, baptized April 20, 1705, who also settled in the Illinois country.

Charles Dulude

Gunsmith. He was the son of Joseph Huet *dit* Dulude and Marie Catherine Chiquot, baptized November 2, 1696, at Boucherville. (Tanguay, I, 312). His wife was Marie Ma8e8ence8oire, a Kaskaskia Indian, the widow of Étienne Philippe *dit* Dulongpré, with whom he made a marriage contract May 23, 1735. She died before January 22, 1740. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, II, III). He was the guardian of the daughter of Monsieur François Vincennes, and a cousin of Nicolas Boyer. His brother, Jean, was also an Illinois habitant. (*Ibid.*, V; *La. Hist. Quart.*, V, 268).

*Pierre Degaignée**Jacques Laderoute*

Jacques Seguin *dit* Laderoute. He married Marie Rose Thuillier *dit* Devegnais, daughter of Nicolas Thuillier and Dorothée Mercier (see entry, above, for Veuve de Veignoit), February 3, 1750. There are records of two children born to the couple:

1. Jean Baptiste, born April 23, 1760.
2. Louis, born December 14, 1761. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

Doubtless there were others.

Dufour dit Tourenge

Martias Dufour *dit* Tourangeau, habitant of Kaskaskia in 1740. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, IV).

Antoine Vno (?) dit Sanchagrin

Antoine Cheneau *dit* Sanschagrin, master slater. He was living in Prairie Melique near Fort de Chartres in 1748, and in 1757 at Nouvelle Chartres. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, IX). His first wife was Cécile Bortan (?). On September 15, 1743, he married Dorothée Ariga (evidently an Indian), the widow of Pierre Hulin. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

J. B. Baroy

Jean Baptiste Barrois, the royal notary, son of Antoine Jean Baptiste Barrois and Anne Leber, and the husband of Madeleine Cardinal (baptized in 1699). They were the parents of:

1. Joseph, baptized at Detroit, 1722.
2. Bonaventure, baptized at Detroit, 1724; a prisoner of the English in 1760.
3. Louis, baptized July 14, 1732, at Kaskaskia.
4. Marianne, baptized in Montreal, married April 27, 1745, to Pierre Bardet de la Ferne, native of France, surgeon at Kaskaskia. He had died by 1760, at which time she was living in New Orleans.
5. Jacques, married Suzanne Baron, October 12, 1747.
6. Céleste Thérèse, married François Le Fevre du Chonquet in 1757.
7. Madeleine, made a marriage contract with Louis Marin Angust 1, 1739. He was dead by 1759. She was married to Louis de Portneuf by 1760 and was living in New Orleans.
8. François.
9. Catherine, whose first husband was Jean Baptiste Becquet. Her second husband was Joseph du Plassy (frequently spelled Placé); by him she was grandmother of Senator Victor Bogy of Missouri. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*; Tanguay, II, 131; Houck, *Spanish Regime*, I, 81n; Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, IX, June 19, 1760; *ibid.*, Private Papers, V, March 4, 1760).

Pierre Derouse

Pierre Derouse *dit* St. Pierre Laverdure, "hobergiste" of Prairie du Rocher in 1743. He lived in Fort de Chartres in 1741, and on April 10, 1743, he sold a stone house at Kaskaskia to Pierre Louvierre d'Amour. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, V, VI).

fr Derouse

François Derouse, the son of Pierre Derouse and Catherine Ditorni; he married Marie Joseph Turpin, daughter of Louis Turpin and Dorothée, May 25, 1760. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*). He was the father of:

1. Joseph, baptized March 24, 1761.
2. Jean Baptiste, born March 15, 1762. (*Ibid.*).

P. LaVigne

La Vigne was the "nickname" of several Illinois families. Possibly this man was Pierre Texier *dit* La Vigne, son of Jean Baptiste Texier and Marianne Mignenet, who married Marie Madeleine Turpin, daughter of Joseph Turpin and Hypolite Chauvin la Fresniere, January 12, 1751. They were parents of:

1. Jean Baptiste, born February 22, 1760.
2. Marie Louise, born December 27, 1761.
3. Antoine, born September 13, 1763. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

LaBriere

Louis Normand (or Normant) *dit* La Briere, master smith of Kaskaskia. He married Agnes Hulin, daughter of Pierre Hulin and Dorothée, July 13, 1747. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*; Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, IV, March 22, 1740).

Pierre Lasonde

Pierre Pilet *dit* Lasonde, husband of Catherine Marie Madeleine Boisron (sometimes spelled Boiraud, Bovron, and Bosseron). On May 2, 1737, four arpents of land at Prairie du Rocher, reaching from the hills to the Mississippi, were granted to him, and on July 9 another arpent was given to him. He and his wife were parents of:

1. Jean Baptiste, who died August 27, 1721, aged six weeks.
2. Jean Baptiste, who died November 4, 1722, aged three months.
3. Antoine, baptized April 19, 1724.
4. Marie Louise, who married Alphonse Paul Rheaume, son of Simon and Élisabeth Rheaume, January 30, 1743. Her second husband was Jean Baptiste Marquis, whom she married January 12, 1751. They were parents of:
 - a. Marie Louise, who married Joseph Crely, May 28, 1768.
5. Marie Barbe, who married Michel Danis, son of Charles Danis and Dorothée, July 20, 1742. They were parents of:
 - a. Michel, baptized April 16, 1760.
 - b. Félagié, baptized July 18, 1762.
6. Madeleine, who married Jean Baptiste Milot, son of Jean Baptiste Milot and Marianne, January 23, 1747. They were parents of:
 - a. François, born June 19, 1759.
 - b. Marie Thérèse, born July 31, 1760.
 - c. Félicité, born December 16, 1761.
 - d. Félagié, who married Pierre Gueret *dit* Dumont February 9, 1763.
7. Angélique, who married Jean Baptiste Crely, son of Jean Baptiste Crely and Françoise Aiet, September 2, 1755. They were parents of:
 - a. Antoine, born September 16, 1759.
 - b. Jerome, baptized May 5, 1759.

An Angélique Pilet *dit* Lasonde, who might have been the same person, married Gabriel Aubuchon, and died at Kaskaskia August 1, 1776. She was the mother of Joseph, who married Marie Kiercereau March 3, 1794, and of Charles, born and died in 1776.

A Dorothée Pilet who might have been another daughter of Pierre Pilet and Catherine, was born in 1739, married February 14, 1759, to Jean Baptiste Olivier, son of Jean Olivier and Marthe, and died September 8, 1764. They were parents of:

1. Nicolas, born June 13, 1759.
2. Élisabeth, born December 13, 1760.
3. Rosalie, born February 15, 1763. Married Joseph Lapierre, at St. Louis, January 17, 1780. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*; Tanguay, VI, 168).

Le sr Page

Prisque Pagé, *negociant* of Kaskaskia. He bought two arpents of farm land at Kaskaskia from Jacques Michel *dit* Dufresne, his father-in-law, for 3,000 livres June 5, 1755. His wife was Marie Françoise Michel, whom he married February 2, 1751. He was the father of:

1. Louis, born February 8, baptized February 10, 1760, at that time in danger of death.
2. Jean Baptiste, born August 20, 1761.
3. Hélène, born January 2, 1763. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*; Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, VIII).

Le sr Beijard (?)

FORT DE CHARTRES

M. Gaignon, misionare

Father François Gagnon, secular priest of Ste. Anne of Fort de Chartres. At his death he was buried in the parish cemetery, but his body was re-interred in 1768 in the graveyard at Prairie du Rocher.

huber finet

Hubert Finnet, a habitant of Fort de Chartres as early as 1737. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, III). On January 9, 1739, an arpent of land above Fort de Chartres was granted "Hubert Finnel." (*American State Papers, Public Lands*, II). He was guardian of the minors of Pierre Texier and Marie Jeanne Gaudrie in 1741. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, I, January, 1741).

A Hubert Finé embarked on the ship *L'Union*, May 28, 1719, to go to Louisiana to settle on the concession of Sr. Cazé. (*La. Hist. Quart.*, XV, 460 ff.). Possibly he later went on to Illinois.

Gabriel Dodier

Blacksmith and interpreter of the Illinois country. On January 9, 1738, he was granted two arpents of land at Fort de Chartres. He was married in April, 1736, to Marie Françoise Millet, daughter of Nicolas Millet and Marie Louise Cardinal; she died in 1783. He died at Fort de Chartres August 1, 1763. They were parents of:

1. Gabriel, born in 1740 and died in 1805.
2. Marie Françoise, born about 1744, married Jean Baptiste Becquet, blacksmith, and died in 1785.
3. Marie Madeleine, born October 15, 1745, died September 5, 1748.
4. Jeanne.
5. Élisabeth.
6. Marie Thérèse, married Simon Coussot; she died in 1782 at the age of 25 years. (Houck, *History of Missouri*, II, 9n; Houck, *Spanish Regime*, II, 390n; Billon, *Annals*, 429-430).

Veuve Ste. Ange

Élisabeth Sorel de St. Romain, widow of Robert Groston, Sieur de St. Ange, who commanded at Missouri and at the Illinois. He was a lieutenant *réformé* December 19, 1722, and in command of Fort de Chartres from about 1730 to 1732. In the latter year he was 60 years of age, a man who could neither read nor write, and who, according to his detractors, was "an old imbecile." However, Father Tartarin, priest at Kaskaskia, denied that charge and said that St. Ange deserved

a captaincy. (ANC C13A 23:243'). In June, 1736, he was in command at Missouri; he died sometime before June 14, 1740. They were the parents of:

1. Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, born about 1701. He commanded at the Wabash post of Vincennes, then in Illinois from the withdrawal of the French under Neyon de Villiers until the arrival of the English troops in 1763. Afterwards he was in command on the Spanish side of the Mississippi.

2. Élisabeth, born at the Missouri fort. On April 25, 1740, she made a marriage contract with François Coulon de Villiers, son of Nicolas Antoine Coulon de Villiers, captain, and Dame de Verchères. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, III. See entry, below, on M. de Villier).

3. Pierre, killed in the Chickasaw campaign of 1736. His wife was Marie Rose Texier, daughter of Louis Texier and Catherine, an Indian. Marie Rose married Nicolas Boyer November 20, 1741. (See entry, above, for Boyer. Kaskaskia MSS.; *Régistre de la Paroisse*).

J. B. Taillon

Jean Baptiste Taillon. According to Tanguay the family name was Michel. A Joseph Tayon, or Taillon, lived at Fort de Chartres in 1755 (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, VIII), who went to St. Louis from the fort in 1764 and died there in 1807. His wife was Marie Louise Bossett. (Billon, *Annals*, 414-415).

Pierre parant

He came from Beaupré in Canada. He was the husband of Marianne Choboyer, and the father of Thérèse, who first married Albert Marcheteau Desnoyer and then François Pancrasse in Cahokia in 1766. (Houck, *Spanish Regime*, I, 192n; *Abstracts*, 113).

jaque fortin

Jacques Fortin, husband of Marie Françoise Vien. On April 10, 1760, he sold a house and land in Fort de Chartres to François Hennet for 1,000 livres. Three years previously, on September 21, 1757, he had sold two arpents in front, on the prairie of the Metchigamia to Joseph Hennet for 160 livres. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, IX).

Louis Marin

Louis de la Marque, Sieur de Marin or Louis Marin, Sieur de la Marque (he signed both ways), captain of the militia at Fort de Chartres. He married Françoise Missouri, widow of Sieur Dubois, *officier*, and reputed to be De Bourmont's mistress. She was one of the Indians whom he took to France. (Bossu, *Travels*, I, 141). In August, 1739, Marin married Madeleine Barrois, daughter of Jean Baptiste Barrois, the royal notary, and Madeleine Cardinal. A daughter of theirs married Clément de Lor de la Vaure in 1760. (Houck, *Spanish Regime*, II, 384-385n). Marin died sometime before January 30, 1750. In 1760 his widow was living in New Orleans.

joseph sanchagrin

The son of François Hennet *dit* Sanschagrin, Swiss, who died December 25, 1746, aged 50 years, and Marianne Charpain. At the time of his father's death, he was still a minor, as were his brothers and sisters: Genevieve; Jacques; and Madeleine, the wife of Michel Lejeune. François, another brother, was their guardian. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, V, February 9, 1747).

September 21, 1757, he bought two arpents of land fronting the Mississippi in the prairie of the Metchigamia from Jacques Fortin for 160 livres. (*Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, IX).

January 24, 1742, François Hennet, his father, petitioned for a grant of fifteen arpents from the hills to the Mississippi at Fort de Chartres in order to establish

his children in a style befitting the offspring of one of the first habitants of the country. Benoist and De la Loère granted him only ten. (*Ibid.*, Private Papers, I. See entry, below, for François Sanschagrin).

Ruelle

Gendron

There were several men by that name in Illinois. Pierre Gendron was engaged to go to the Illinois on June 6, 1742, by Joseph le Due. (*Rapport de L'Archiviste*, 1929-1930, 422).

Jean Baptiste was a habitant of St. Philippe in 1751. His wife was Cécile Blot, who died there February 22, 1762.

simon couso

Husband of Marie Thérèse Dodier, daughter of Gabriel Dodier and Marie Françoise Millet, who died in 1782, aged 25 (see entry, above, for Gabriel Dodier). Couso died in St. Louis in 1789. (Houck, *History of Missouri*, II, 54).

joseph Baron

One of the sons of Jean Baptiste Baron, who was baptized at Boucherville, Canada, in 1691, and his Indian wife, Marie Catherine, baptized in 1703. Marie Catherine bore Jean Baptiste Baron three children before their marriage: Joseph; Susanne, who first married Jacques Barrois and then Joseph Clermont; and Marguerite, born in 1739, married July 1, 1754 to Charles Quesnel, died in June, 1758. Jean Baptiste Baron married a second time, in the late summer of 1748, to Domitilla Rollet.

The Joseph Baron of this census was probably the Joseph who was captain of the militia at Ste. Genevieve. On February 26, 1759, Andre Deguire *dit La Rose* married Joseph's widow. (Yealy, *Ste. Genevieve*, 31).

Louis desnoyé

Louis Desnoyers, master carpenter and turner of Fort de Chartres. Son of Pierre Marcheteau *dit Desnoyers* and Marie Marguerite Pilet, baptized at Montreal, February 2, 1711. His first wife was Françoise Le Duc, baptized April 28, 1714, the daughter of Joseph le Due and Genevieve Joly. They were married April 13, 1733. Their children were:

1. Joseph, baptized at Montreal, February 19, 1734.
2. Louis, married November 7, 1766 to Véronique Panisse at St. Louis, Missouri.
3. Véronique, married Louis Ridé.
4. Élisabeth, born June 4, 1745, at Fort de Chartres.
5. Alexandre, born February 15, 1748, at Fort de Chartres. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*; Tanguay, V, 498).

Louis was a brother of Joseph of Cahokia (see entry below).

M. de Villier (Possibly *Mme.*)

François Coulon, Sieur de Villiers, son of Nicolas Antoine Coulon, Sieur de Villiers, captain of the troops, and Angélique Jarret de Verchères. On April 25, 1760, at Fort de Chartres, he signed a marriage contract with Élisabeth St. Ange, daughter of Robert Groston, Sieur de St. Ange, deceased, and Dame Élisabeth Sorel de St. Romain. A daughter, Marie, was baptized November 24, 1743, by Father Gagnon at Fort de Chartres.

Élisabeth, another daughter, was married to Pierre François Lusignan, Sieur de Volsey, by April 13, 1758. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, IX). In 1772, on the pretext of visiting her father in New Orleans, she went only as far as Ste. Genevieve, where for nearly a year she lived a dissolute life. Sieur Carpentier finally took her back to her husband at St. Louis, but it needed the combined

efforts of the governor and his wife, and Father Valentin to persuade De Volsey to take her back.

In 1774 De Volsey had a furlough and returned to France for two years. During his absence Élisabeth lived with Kiercereau *dit* Renaud, and in 1776, shortly before De Volsey's return, the two of them ran off to Illinois together. (Billon, *Annals*, 435-436).

On January 27, 1781, Élisabeth, stating that De Volsey had mistreated her and would not allow her in his house, petitioned the Spanish authorities to force a separation of the marriage community and return her dowry. De Volsey consented in order that in no future time Élisabeth would have any claim on his estate. He offered her a negro, François, aged 30, 2,000 pounds of deerskins, and 160 pesos in paper money. She agreed to this settlement. (*La. Hist. Quart.*, XV, 1548). According to Billon, De Volsey, heartbroken, took to drinking excessively; he died in 1795.

A son, Jean Jacques, was also apparently one of the children of François de Villiers.

M. Benoy

Benoist de Ste. Claire, chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, commandant *ad interim* at Illinois, 1740-1742, 1749-1750. He married Marie Bienvenu, daughter of Antoine Bienvenu and Françoise Rabut, January 13, 1750, when he was 57 years old. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*). He came to Louisiana as an ensign in 1717, became a lieutenant in 1732, and a captain, 1737. (ANC C13A 25:87). In 1752 he was the oldest captain in the colony.

At least one child, Jean Baptiste, was born of this marriage (*La. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, 175). After Benoist's death, which occurred sometime before December 20, 1770, Marie married René Harpain de la Gautrais, widower of Céleste Thérèse Nepveu.

M. Buchet

Joseph Buchet, chief clerk of the marine, *ordonnateur*, and judge at Illinois. In 1733 he was *garde magazin* at Illinois, and in 1752 he had become *écrivain principal*, or chief clerk. In 1759 he begged the governor to allow him to retire on account of his great age and infirmities. (ANC C13A 17:114^v; 36:341-348; 14:315).

In 1734 Ste. Thérèse Langloiserie granted him a tract of land supposedly at the lower end of the Prairie du Rocher common field. And on April 23, 1743, Buchet acknowledged himself to be the owner of land about nine arpents in front joining the land of Lasonde and the heirs of Du Tisné, with the lower line being the line of the common field of Prairie du Rocher. (*American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, map following p. 182).

Buchet married Marie Françoise Potier, who, according to the statement in the marriage contract of Toussaint Potier and Catherine Delessart drawn up October 10, 1745, was Françoise La Brise, widow of Jean Baptiste Potier, Toussaint's father. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, IV). They were the parents of:

1. Thérèse, who died at the age of 5½ years at Fort de Chartres October 26, 1743.
2. Joseph, born about 1740; died October 28, 1748. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 10, 17, 53).
3. Alexandre, born October 21, 1744, at Fort de Chartres.

After the publication of one ban, Buchet married Marie Louise Michel, daughter of Jacques Michel, January 7, 1748. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

M. Chevalier

André Chevalier, *garde magazin* at Illinois, serving at least as early as January 20, 1750. He appears to have had several wives: Louise le Kintrut or le Kintie, who was his wife in January, 1750; Françoise Dupon (?), who was his wife in

Françoise
Brise is c
here. Fr
Potier is
sister, Fr
Buchet
his beau

February, 1751; Genevieve Rivard, widow of Jean Baptiste Monbrun, who signed as his wife at a baptism in 1755. He was the father of:

1. Jeanne, whose mother was Louise le Kintrut, and who married Jacques la Mothe at New Orleans in the fall of 1769. (*La. Hist. Quart.*, VI, 151).

2. A son, born January 18, 1750, at Fort de Chartres, with Joseph Buchet and Marie Bienvenu, wife of Benoist, his godparents at his baptism January 20. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 66).

3. A daughter, mother's name not given, married Chevalier Barqueville. (*La. Hist. Quart.*, XXIV, 800).

4. Élisabeth, daughter of Françoise Dupon, born at Fort de Chartres February 28, 1751. Her godparents were Louis Robineau de Portneuf and Élisabeth St. Ange. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 66).

Chevalier may also have been the father of Pierre Chevalier, husband of Marie Rose de Lisle, whose name appears in later entries in the parish registers.

Chevalier's house at Fort de Chartres was opposite the new fort on the road that led to the main gate and to the Mississippi; it was sold in April, 1759, after his death, to his successor, D'Auneville. Louis Chancellier, surgeon-major, was the guardian of Chevalier's children. (Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, II, III).

Ervié, sergeant

Charles Hervy, sergeant in the troops at Fort de Chartres. He was in the Illinois country as early as 1728, for in that year he was a witness to a marriage contract drawn there. His wife was Renée Drouin, daughter of Pierre Drouin and Perrine, a native of Brittany. Renée had been married to Jean Baptiste Houdet, and on May 1, 1741, had entered into a marriage contract with Nicolas Pierrot *dit* Lasonde, sergeant of the troops at Fort de Chartres; Charles Hervy was one of the witnesses for the groom.

Hervy had died by December 21, 1750, for on that date his widow sold everything she owned in Nouvelle Chartres—a house, barn, four oxen, four cows, two arpents of land, a plow, cart, feather bed, etc., for 6,000 livres. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, V, May 1, 1741; IX, December 21, 1750).

toussin Dardeine

Toussaint Dardenne, son of Toussaint Dardenne and Marie Jeanne Mezeret of Montreal, baptized at Montreal January 23, 1717. (Tanguay, III, 241. An entry in the parish register of Fort de Chartres gives his mother's name as Marie Françoise Meseré.) On November 21, 1747, Dardenne married Marie Lever, widow of Michel Vien of Fort de Chartres. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 45).

M. Duclos, officier

Alexandre de Celle Duclos, officer of the troops at Fort de Chartres, son of Gabriel Duclos and Marguerite St. Michel, native of the parish of St. Nicolas in the bishopric of Quebec. He entered into a marriage contract with Élisabeth Philippe, widow of Étienne Hebert and daughter of Michel Philippe and Marie Rouensa, November 21, 1735. His brother, Joseph, was a witness. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, II). Élisabeth died January 2, 1747, at Fort de Chartres, aged 40 years. Of their children, there is record of:

1. Élisabeth, married Pierre Frederic Darenbourg, officer of the infantry in garrison at Fort de Chartres, son of Frederic Darenbourg, Swedish commandant at the post of Les Allemands, February 22, 1762.

2. Marie Joseph, born December 7, 1744, died January 16, 1745.

3. Pierre, born April 9, 1746, baptized the next day with Pierre de Chanfour de Louvier and Élisabeth Duclos (probably his sister) as sponsors.

4. Antoine, married Marie Jeanne Fontaille Saucier, died by 1786. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript; *Régistre de la Paroisse*). ?

M. Duclos had, in 1740, served six years at Illinois, was a *cadet à l'éguillette* in the company of M. de Blanc, was 33 years of age and characterized by Bienville as "sagacious." He became an ensign *en second* December 1, 1740; ensign *en pied* February 1, 1754. (ANC C13A 25:93; D2C4).

In 1745, Alexandre Duclos received the grant of an island in the Mississippi opposite the fort.

St. Loren, soldat

Possibly François Labeuf *dit* St. Laurent, whose land was announced for sale, January 12, 1755. (Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, III).

Rene Pierre Cheval

J. B. Martigny

Jean Baptiste Martigny, son of Jacques Lemoine, Sieur de Martigny, and Angélique Juillet of Varennes. On September 6, 1745, at Fort de Chartres, he married Marie, daughter of Ignace Hebert and Hélène Danis. Bans were dispensed with for "a good and legitimate reason." (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 24). Marie, according to Houck (*Spanish Regime*, II, 390n), was the widow of Hyacinthe St. Cyr.

Twin daughters, Élisabeth and Hélène, were born to the couple May 17, 1746. R. Baby and Hélène Danis were godparents of Hélène; Germain *dit* Matis and Élisabeth Sorel were godparents of Élisabeth. Hélène died the following day. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 32).

According to one account, not altogether reliable, Martigny went to St. Louis with Chouteau, where he became wealthy and prominent; he died in September, 1792.

Dagnio

Philippe Dagneau, syndic of the parish of Ste. Anne of Fort de Chartres in 1748. His wife was Marie Joseph Picard. They were parents of:

1. Marie Joseph, born and baptized May 5, 1745, at Fort de Chartres with Philippe Picard and Marie Joseph Langlois as godparents. She died October 6, 1748.
2. Michel, born and baptized September 18, 1748. M. Michel Louvier and Hélène Hebert were his sponsors. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 52, 54).

Michel Louvierre

Michel d'Amours de Louvier, *cadet à l'éguillette*. In 1740 he had served four years at Illinois, was 28 years old, and reported by Bienville to be "very sagacious." (ANC C13A 25:93*). He married Marie Jeanne Boulogne in 1737. Those children whose births are recorded in the parish registers are:

1. Marie Anne, born and baptized January 10, 1745. She died the following March 22.
2. Marguerite, aged 5 (?), died October 1, 1747. (Her parents are not given in the register, but I think she was probably the daughter of this couple.)
3. Pierre, born and baptized October 23, 1748.

Michel Louvier had died by January 16, 1758, for in a document of that date Pierre de Chaufour de Louvier was acting as executor of his will and guardian of his minor children. (Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, III).

Veuve Hebert

Hélène Danis, widow of Ignace Hebert, captain of the militia at Fort de Chartres. Ignace Hebert was the son of Ignace Hebert and Jeanne Messier St. Michel, baptized at Varennes June 8, 1694. (Tanguay, IV, 476). On November 27, 1728, he entered into a marriage contract with Hélène Danis, widow of Mathurin Chaput, whom she had married January 14, 1724. Their children were:

1. Ignace, born in 1730, died by 1786. (Billon, *Annals*, 431).
2. Hélène, born in 1732. (*Ibid.*). She became the third wife of Louis Turpin

of Kaskaskia, March 21, 1751. On December 20, 1752, she made a marriage contract with Henri Carpentier, and he, in turn, married Marie Aubuchon, November 8, 1757.

3. Marie, married Jean Baptiste Martigny after the death of her husband, Hyacinthe St. Cyr (see entry, above, for J. B. Martigny).

4. René, died September 29, 1744, aged 8 years.

5. Joseph, married Agnes Michel Philippe, daughter of Jacques Michel Philippe and Marie Anne Boulogne.

6. August.

7. François, born in 1750; killed by Indians in 1780. (A son, his name not given, was born September 5 and baptized the next day at Fort de Chartres).

Ignace Hebert apparently came to Illinois in the summer of 1725, for on May 30 of that year one Hebert, a Canadian, received permission from the Superior Council of Louisiana to sell his house at New Orleans before he started for Illinois. (*La. Hist. Quart.*, II, 331).

Veuve Hebert moved to St. Louis in 1769 from Fort de Chartres. (Houck, *History of Missouri*, II, 22n).

Étienne Hebert, a brother of Ignace, was in Kaskaskia as early as July 14, 1721, when he was godfather to Étienne Lalande, one of the twin sons of Jacques Lalande and Marie Tetio. Marie Louise Coignon, widow of François Chesne, was his wife in February, 1725. February 11, 1727, there was a marriage contract between Étienne Hebert and Élisabeth Philippe, daughter of Michel Philippe and Marie Rouensa. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, VI). He had died by November 21, 1735, as on that day his widow entered into a marriage contract with M. Alexandre de Celle Duclos (see entry above).

The Provincial Council of Illinois on May 2, 1724, granted to Hebert *le jeune* three arpents of land, 50 in depth, at Fort de Chartres, touching on one side the land of Jacques Catherine and on the other that of Bellegard (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, II), and on January 30, 1725, the Council granted to "Étienne Hebert, captain of the militia" the land "which he holds" at Fort de Chartres to hold "en franc allen" for services rendered to the Company. (*Ibid.*, Public Papers, I).

joachim Gerard

Huissier of Illinois. He was the son of Sieur Gerard and Barbe Colanson of the parish of St. Eustache. He married Gilletá Bonté, widow of Gregoire Kiercereau (variously spelled) January 23, 1748.

Angélique, veuve

philibot

Charles Philibot, *voyageur*, son of Charles Philibot and Marie Charlotte Bissonnet. (*La. Hist. Quart.*, IX, 162). Tanguay, IV, 39, does not list a Charles among the children of this marriage). On February 8, 1747, he made a marriage contract with Marie Anne Boulogne, widow of Jacques Philippe, and daughter of Pierre Boulogne and Catherine Raget. The children of whom there is record are:

1. Alexis, born January 28, baptized January 31, 1748. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

2. Thérèse, baptized January 14, 1750. (*Ibid.*).

3. Marguerite, aged 18 in 1773, wife of Señor Sibilar (Spanish spelling. *La. Hist. Quart.*, IX, 162).

4. Jean, aged 14 in 1773. (*Ibid.*).

5. Charles, aged 9 in 1773. (*Ibid.*).

francois Larche

Merchant, *voyageur*. The family of L'Archeveque et L'Arche was numerous in Canada; several were Illinois merchants — Augustin, Charles, Jean, François, Joseph, Louis, all sons of Jean l'Archeveque and Catherine Delaunay.

This François seems to be the son of Jean and Angélique de Rainville. On February 9, 1750, he married Élisabeth Sorel, daughter of the late Antoine Sorel. (The parish register says Jean, son of Jean François).

December 30, 1752, a son, François, was born to François Larche and Élisabeth Sorel. He died January 5, 1753. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 63).

A daughter, Hélène, date of birth unknown, but probably in 1750 or 1751, married Pierre La Croix June 25, 1767, at St. Louis, Missouri. (Tanguay, III, 165).

However, a François Larche of Illinois, whose wife was Julienne la Brosse and whose brother was Joseph Larche, is mentioned in the records of the Superior Council of Louisiana in February and March, 1740. (*La. Hist. Quart.*, X, 262, 273).

André dejardin

André Thomas Desjardins, *negociant* of Fort de Chartres, son of Pierre Desjardins and Madeleine Bonhomme (?), native of the parish of St. Nicolas in the diocese of Cambrai. He made a marriage contract with Marie Joseph, daughter of Antoine Sorel *dit* Dauphiné and Lucie Rolet of Fort de Chartres July 30, 1740. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, III).

A daughter, Marie Joseph, was born December 8, 1743, her godparents being Antoine Sorel and Hélène Danis. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 13).

St. Germin, soldat

Thomas Alexandre St. Germin *dit* Laville (or, possibly de Laville *dit* St. Germin), soldier in the company of M. Benoist, son of Thomas Laville and Lenore Letellier of the parish of St. Sulpice, in the bishopric of Paris, married Marie Joseph Quebedeau, widow of Maturin Pineaux, and daughter of Joseph Quebedeau *dit* Lespagniol and Marie Anne Antoine Beau (Marianne?) May 19, 1749. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 20, 55). Died 1764.

Gil D'Chemin, soldat

Gilles (one document has it Gilbert) du Chemin. His wife was Marie Jeanne Quebedeau, probably the daughter of Joseph Quebedeau and Marie Anne Antoine Beau. They were the parents of:

1. Charles, baptized in January, 1751.
2. Thérèse, born February 14, 1753, married Pierre Montardy, sergeant, of Montauban, France, at Fort de Chartres in 1765. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 73; Houck, *Spanish Regime*, I, 183n). Montardy, born in 1736, went with St. Ange to St. Louis, and was much esteemed; in 1787 he was captain of the militia. He died in 1809. (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, January, 1914, XIX, 325n).

fr. Sanchagrin

François Hennet *dit* Sanschagrin, master roofer of Fort de Chartres. He was the son of François Hennet, Swiss, and Marianne Charpain (see entry, above, for Joseph Sanschagrin). The children of the elder Hennet included:

1. Marie Madeleine, who entered into a marriage contract with Michel le Jeune *dit* Le Gaspare, a Swiss, April 23, 1740. Among their children were:
 - a. Michel, born and baptized July 7, 1744.
 - b. Joseph, baptized December 4, 1746.
2. François, married Marguerite Becquet, daughter of Jean Baptiste Becquet and Catherine Barreau, June 30, 1740.
3. Joseph, married Élisabeth Roy, daughter of René Roy, surgeon, and Agnes Philippe, January 11, 1752.
4. Genevieve, made a marriage contract with Charles Cadron, son of Pierre Cadron, June 18, 1747.
5. Jacques, made a marriage contract with Marie Françoise Eloy, February 7, 1757. (*Abstracts*, 61).
6. Mathurin.

Marianne Charpain apparently died early in 1734, for on April 15 of that year there was an inventory made of her estate. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, II).

Veuve Baquette

Probably Catherine Barreau (variously spelled). There were two families of Becquets in Illinois. Jean Baptiste Becquet, locksmith, usually referred to in documents as "Maître Becquet," was the son of Jean Baptiste Nicolas Becquet, master locksmith of Paris, and Françoise Masse (spelling?). The children of Maître Jean and Catherine Barraux were:

1. Marguerite, married François Hennet, *le jeune*, June 30, 1740 (see entry, above, for François Sanschagrin).

2. Françoise, who entered into a marriage contract with Charles Neau, son of François Neau and Thérèse Chartier January 8, 1736. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, II). He was dead by 1740. (*Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, IV).

3. Jean Baptiste, born at Fort de Chartres in 1725. He married Marie Françoise Dodier (see entry for Gabriel Dodier, above). They went to St. Louis in 1765, where she died in 1785 and he in 1797.

4. Marie, who, while still a minor, made a marriage contract with François Xavier Rollet, merchant of Illinois living at Cahokia, widower of Domitilla, and son of Jacques Rollet and the late Toinette Aubert, July 27, 1745. (*Ibid.*, Private Papers, IV). She apparently died shortly, for on June 14, 1747, he married Marie Anne Fouillard, widow of Jean Baptiste Girard. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

The other family of Becquets were descendants of Jean Becquet and Jeanne Claire Demonte (spelling?), natives of a village on the Sambre in Cambrai. Their son, Jean François, married, on May 4, 1728, Marie Anne Fafart, widow of Nicolas Cadrin, and daughter of Pierre Boisjoly Fafart, born in 1711 and baptized June 3, 1714. (*Ibid.*). He had died by December 30, 1738, when she asked for the appointment of a guardian for their minor children. (Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, I). She married Sieur Ducouadie after Becquet's death; she had died by March 3, 1741. (*Ibid.*, Private Papers, I). The children of Jean François Becquet and Marie Anne Fafart were:

1. Jean Baptiste, a miller, who on January 19, 1752, married Élisabeth Marcheteau des Noyers, daughter of Joseph Marcheteau and Madelaine Robert at Cahokia. They went to St. Louis in 1765. (Billon, *Annals*, 431).

2. Louis.

3. Pierre. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

Louis Metivier

Louis Metivier, *habitant*. The first Metivier in the Illinois appears to have been Henri, baptized in 1693, died February 12, 1723, at Kaskaskia. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*). His wife was Marguerite Clairjon (variously spelled) who on June 15, 1723, married Pierre la Chauvetat (also spelled variously) of La Rochelle. She died January 15, 1726. (*Ibid.*). Their children included:

1. Henri, born and baptized May 5, 1720.

2. A daughter, born September 7, 1721.

Louis, who was very likely another son, had by April, 1737, married Marie Fafart, daughter of Jean Fafart and Marguerite Conquet.

There are recorded the deaths of three children who might have been the sons of Louis:

a. Nicolas, died October 20, 1748, aged 15 years.

b. Philippe, died September, 1748.

c. Louis, aged 9 years, died September 28, 1748. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 44, 54, 52).

Marianne Metivier, relationship not established, widow of Félix Quirigou, married Louis Marcheteau des Noyers, widower of Françoise le Duc, in St. Louis, July 2, 1772. (Tanguay, V, 468).

One Metivier, who might have been Louis, was a master carpenter in Illinois in 1731. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, II, August 23, 1731).

Veuve Levremond

She may have been the wife of Étienne Yevremou (so transcribed from the Fort de Chartres Parish Register), who died October 18, 1744, at St. Philippe, aged about 45 years. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 17).

Jen Guilliot

This may have been Jean Gilgau *dit* Contois, soldier, son of Jean Gilgau and Catherine Bonnechant, and native of St. Pierre in the bishopric of Besançon, for his name is variously spelt. He himself signed as Jean Guillegot. He married Jeanne Texier, widow of Antoine ^{subsequently} Jouibert, sergeant of the company of Grandpré, July 9, 1746. He was the father of Louis, born January 28, 1752. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 35, 65).

Bonjeau (?), soldat

Apparently Nicolas Beaugenoux (also spelled in a variety of ways). He was a soldier in the company of Mimbrét and died in St. Louis in 1770. (Houck, *Spanish Regime*, II, 382n).

His wife was Marie Anne Henrion, probably the daughter of Jean Henrion and Marie Barbe Babstot. The register of Ste. Anne's records the birth of:

1. Nicolas, in September, 1747; baptized in May, 1748.
2. Marie Joseph, born and baptized January 4, 1750. Billon (*Annals*, 415-416) mistakenly gives the son, Nicolas, as having been born in Canada in 1741, then lists these other children:
 1. Charles.
 2. Marie Joseph, born in 1748 (incorrect), died, 1799.
 3. Hélène, born, 1751.
 4. Thérèse.
 5. Agnes Françoise.
 6. Élisabeth.

pol Roussel, soldat

Paul Desrousselle, habitant of St. Philippe, bought a poorly built house in Fort de Chartres from Jerome Matis for 200 livres, January 18, 1751. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, VIII).

A François Roussel, soldier in the company of Grandpré, son of Jean François Roussel and Marie . . . , of the parish of Vesou in Franche-Comptee, married Catherine Barbe, widow of Nicolas Noire (Noise ?) of St. Philippe on May 20, 1749. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 55). This might have been the same man.

Damme veuve Labarre

Marie Anne Adhemar, daughter of Gaspard Adhemar, Sieur de Lantagnac, governor of Manton in Provence, and Jeanne de Truchi, baptized at Quebec June 14, 1722. (Tanguay, II, 6). She married Augustin Antoine de la Barre, Seigneur du Jardin, son of Antoine and Marie Anne Capon of St. Germain-en-laye, at Quebec November 28, 1741. (*Ibid.*, III, 283).

The births of two sons, Louis, and one not named, are recorded in the parish register of Ste. Anne of Fort de Chartres: Louis on February 9, 1751, and his brother the next month, on March 29, 1751. (Similar odd records appear in Tanguay).

Labarre, lieutenant in the troops, commanded the post of the Missouri and was killed by a soldier of his garrison on February 24, 1751. The soldier was executed for his crime on March 18. (ANC C13A 35:173).

Macarty, commandant at Illinois, in a letter to Vaudreuil dated December 8,

*Gilgau son married in 1746
KMS5 Pres 2 Rec 16-65.*

1752, stated that Mme. Labarre had decided to go back to Canada since she had heard of Vaudreuil's appointment as governor-general. Macarty intended to have her escorted by troops as far as Peoria, and would recommend her and her family to the *voyageurs*. He was writing Beaujeu at Mackinac to assist her all he could. She was to leave the following spring if her health permitted. (HMO 413).

Apparently the couple had another son whose birth is not recorded at Illinois, for in the army lists of January 1, 1757, there is listed, as a *cadet à l'éguillette*, one Augustin Antoine Labarre. (ANC D2C51).

M. Chancellier

Louis Chancellier, surgeon at Illinois at least from the spring of 1748, when he was living in Kaskaskia, to December 31, 1759, when he was surgeon-major at Illinois, drawing the pay of 1,000 livres a year. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, VII, March 30, 1748; ANC D2C52:126).

On January 5, 1752, when he was living in Kaskaskia, he sold a house and some land in Fort de Chartres to Jean Baptiste Langevin, *negociant*, of Fort de Chartres, for 1,000 livres. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, VIII).

Lhermitte, soldat

On July 26, 1760, there was a judicial sale of the property of one Remy Guertot dit Lhermitte, possibly the individual named here.

ST. PHILIPPE

Concession de M. Buchet

Land owned by Buchet at St. Philippe (see entry, above, for him).

Sr. Lacroix

François Lacroix, *voyageur* and merchant, whose wife was Barbé Montmeunier of Rouen, Normandy. (Tanguay, V, 72). On June 4, 1723, he received permission to leave Quebec with his wife and five children to establish himself in Illinois. (Rapport de L'Archiviste, 1921-1922:203). Their children were:

1. Marie Joseph, married first to Jean Baptiste Gouin *dit* Champagne, the contract dated February 14, 1730. (*Abstracts*). Her second husband was Alexandre Langlois, whom she married at Cahokia, March 1, 1756. (Tanguay, V, 72).

2. Agnes. Her marriage contract with Louis Boisset, son of Louis Boisset and Angélique Bégin, of Quebec, was dated February 14, 1726. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, II). Their children were: Louis; Marie Louise, married Michel Taillon; Jeanette. Her second husband was Jean Chauvin, son of Jacques Chauvin and Marie Cochons (?). The contract was dated September 29, 1737. (*Ibid.*).

3. Barbé, who was married to Henri Saucier, son of Jean Baptiste Saucier and Gabrielle Savary as early as 1733. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, II, February 6, 1733).

There may have been another daughter, the wife of Jean Baptiste Mercier, for he was one of the witnesses for Agnes Lacroix at the time of the drawing of the contract between her and Jean Chauvin in 1737, and it is stated there that Mercier is her brother-in-law. ~~He is her brother or stepbrother~~ ^{Part 2} ~~part~~

It is possible that another daughter was married to Sébastien Gouin *dit* Champagne of St. Philippe, but I am inclined to think that the documents speak of Jean Baptiste, the husband of Marie Joseph, occasionally as Sébastien.

Marie Louise Lacroix, wife of Jean Baptiste Beauvais as early as 1733, and aged about 44 years in 1748, may have been another daughter.

On March 24, 1736, François Lacroix was granted five arpents of land above the common field at St. Philippe. (*American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, map of St. Philippe).

Charle Cadron dit St. Pierre

Son of Pierre Cadron and Madeleine Desrosiers, of the parish of St. Antoine

in Canada; married Genevieve Hennet, June, 1747 (see entry, above, for François Sanschagrin).

Very likely Charles Cadron *dit* St. Pierre, captain of the militia at St. Philippe in 1762, was the same man. His wife then was Marie Jeanne Mercier. They seem to have had at least three children:

1. Pierre Charles, born March 5, 1762.
2. Marie Jeanne, married Mathieu Saucier, a French officer.
3. Marie Anne.

According to testimony reported in *American State Papers (Public Lands, II, 138, 194)*, Charles Cadron had a grant of land of about 3,000 acres at St. Philippe, and a lot and twenty acres with a water mill on the road from Fort de Chartres to St. Philippe.

On July 7, 1770, Charles Cadron transferred all real and personal property to Edward Coles for his debt of 200 pounds, 12 shillings. The previous April he and his wife, Marie Jeanne Mercier, gave a mortgage on their property to Daniel Blouin for a debt of 8,549 livres.

Vivareinne

Jean Baptiste Vivareinne, son of Pierre Vivareinne of Amiens in Picardy and Gabrielle Savary, born in 1719. He entered into a marriage contract with Marianne Claude Rondeau, daughter of Pierre la Sauvetot *dit* St. Pierre and Catherine Anne Federolle, August/3, 1740. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, III). The births recorded in the register of Ste. Anne are:

1. A daughter, born January 28, 1748, baptized the same day.
2. Marie Françoise, born February 16, baptized February 19, 1752. Her godparents were François Saucier, engineer, and Marie Joseph Lacroix, wife of Jean Baptiste Gouin.

A Jean Baptiste Vivareinne signed the baptismal register February 4, 1752, as a *cadet à l'éguillette*. I am not sure, but I suspect this is the same individual.

Gabrielle Savary, his mother, was first married to Jean Baptiste Saucier (see footnote 15, p. 29).

Lacroix Lenoire

I suspect, although I have no definite proof, that this is one of the members of the family of Hubert *dit* Lacroix who lived in Illinois, and may or may not have been related to the family of François Lacroix. All I can do is list the names of those of whom there is some record:

Antoine Dorval, merchant of Kaskaskia and Cahokia was married to Veronique Hubert Lacroix as early as June 11, 1732, when they acknowledged before a notary at Quebec their indebtedness to Antoine Salvaye, Sieur de Frémont, for the sum of 627 livres 19 sous for their trip to Cahokia. (*Rapport de L'Archiviste, 1929-1930: 293*). It may be that Veronique was the Marie Françoise Veronique listed in Tanguay, IV, 531, as the daughter of Louis Hubert and Marguerite Trottier.

Daniel Hubert Lacroix, Illinois trader, apparently residing in New Orleans at least part of the time, was 38 years of age in 1752. (*La. Hist. Quart., XXI, 889*).

Jean Baptiste Hubert Lacroix was the husband of Catherine Aubuchon, daughter of Pierre Aubuchon.

Marie Françoise Hubert Lacroix was sponsor at a baptism at St. Philippe October 11, 1763.

Pierre Hubert Lacroix lived at Fort de Chartres in 1759. (Kaskaskia MSS., Public Papers, III, February 11, 1759).

Marie Thérèse Loisel was the wife of Hubert Lacroix of St. Philippe in July, 1764.

Nicola Blondin

Nicolas Provot *dit* Blondin, son of Claude Provot and Marianne of Boulogne. His first wife was Marie Thérèse Kier . . . (?) by whom he had children.

On July 27, 1745, he married Marie Françoise Quebedeau, daughter of Joseph Quebedeau and Marie Anne Antoine Beau. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 23; Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, IV). So far I have found the records of only three children born of this marriage:

1. Françoise, born November 20, 1747, baptized the next day.
2. Louis, born and baptized February 21, 1763.
3. Jean Baptiste, married Agnes Loisel in 1765.

However, there were undoubtedly more children. The names of Joseph, and Madeleine Provot which appear in the baptismal register as sponsors in 1762 are probably the children of Nicolas.

Nicolas Provot was in the Illinois as early as 1736, for on March 24 of that year he was granted three arpents of land at St. Philippe. (*American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, map opposite p. 192).

Buteau

Probably Charles Buteau. On March 24, 1736, seven arpents frontage, extending from the hills to the Mississippi at St. Philippe were granted to Pierre Buteau. (*American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, map opposite p. 192).

Although I have no definite proof, I suspect that Charles Buteau, whose wife was Madeleine Gautier, was the son of the above Pierre, or his brother. They were the parents of:

1. Marie Louise, born April 1, 1763, at St. Philippe.
2. Pierre, who in 1786 married Angélique Lecompte, daughter of Jacques Lecompte and Marie Louise. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 80-81).

Nicola Loiselle

Baptiste Loiselle

Loisel was a common name in St. Philippe, but I find no record of a Nicolas.

On May 2, 1724, two arpents above Fort de Chartres were granted to Toussaint Loiselle. (*American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, map opposite p. 186).

Toussaint was the son of Joseph Loisel and Jeanne Duchene (Tanguay has it Jeanne Langlois) of Pointe aux Trembles, Montreal. He was baptized there March 17, 1690 (Tanguay, I, 396), and married in Kaskaskia January 11, 1724, to Cécile Brunet, daughter of Jean Brunet *dit* Bourbonnois, second lieutenant of the militia, and Élisabeth Deshayes. (*Répertoire de la Paroisse*). He was dead by October 11, 1741, for on that date a guardian was elected for his minor children. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, V).

A son, Toussaint, was born in February, 1726, and died December 10, 1746, at Fort de Chartres.

The relationship of the other Loisels whose names appear in the records is not clear.

On March 24, 1736, one and one-half arpents stretching from the hills to the Mississippi at St. Philippe were granted to Jean Baptiste Loisel. (*American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, map opposite p. 192). This may be the Baptiste Loisel of the census.

On the same day two arpents were granted to Antoine Loisel. (*Ibid.*). Antoine Loisel was godfather at a baptism at Fort de Chartres in January, 1726.

Probably it was the same Antoine whose wife was Marie Texier. They were parents of:

1. Marie Barbe, born February 3, 1750.
2. Antoine Loisel, when about 5 years old, died at St. Philippe January 1, 1752.

It is possible that all these men—Nicolas, Antoine, Jean Baptiste, and Toussaint were brothers. Tanguay gives Jean Baptiste as the brother of Toussaint, and lists his wife as Marie Anne Baudry, married in 1719. (Tanguay, I, 396).

Baptiste Champagne

Jean Baptiste Gouin *dit* Champagne, blacksmith, son of Sébastien Gouin and

Louise de Rainville, baptized at Montreal February 26, 1706. (Tanguay, IV, 333). He married Marie Joseph Lacroix, daughter of François Lacroix and Barbe Montmeunier of St. Philippe, February 14, 1730 (see entry, above, for François Lacroix). He died sometime between 1751 and March 1, 1756, when his widow married Alexandre Langlois at Cahokia. (Tanguay, V, 72).

Three arpents at St. Philippe were granted to Jean Baptiste Gouin on March 24, 1736. (*American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, map opposite p. 192).

Toussin Veaudrie

Toussaint Vaudry. Possibly the son of Jacques Vaudry and Marie Françoise Joly, baptized at St. François, Île Jesus, July 6, 1707. (Tanguay, VII, 430).

The only basis for this assumption is that Toussaint was a brother of Pierre Vaudry, engaged to go to Illinois in 1742 (*Rapport de L'Archiviste*, 1929-1930:419), and Tanguay lists among the children of the above couple both a Toussaint and a Pierre.

At any rate, Toussaint Vaudry was the godfather of Angélique Heneaux at her baptism March 23, 1746.

His wife was Marianne Pré, daughter of Pierre Pré; she died at Fort de Chartres November 1, 1727 (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, VI).

On March 28, 1760, Vaudry bought from Daniel Blouin, *negociant*, three arpents at St. Philippe for 300 livres. (*Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, IX).

Metote

Gabriel Metote, son of Jacques Metote and Madeleine Meseray, native of the parish of St. Nicolas in the bishopric of Quebec. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, II, January 15, 1735). Tanguay lists no Jacques Metote, but gives Madeleine Meseray as the wife of Abraham Metote. There is no Gabriel given in any of the families. (Tanguay, VII, 12).

On January 15, 1735, Gabriel Metote entered into a marriage contract with Marie Turpin, natural daughter of Jean Baptiste Turpin and Marie Jeanne, native of Mobile. They were parents of:

1. Felix, born January 1, 1748, baptized January 3. He died May 29 the same year.

2. Marie Catherine, born and baptized May 31, 1751. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 47, 50, 68).

On March 22, 1736, four arpents of land at St. Philippe were granted to Gabriel Metote. (*American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, map opposite p. 192).

Joseph Metote of Fort de Chartres may have been a nephew of Gabriel. At any rate he was the son of René Metote and Marie Lambert of Quebec. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, IV, June, 1745). Tanguay, VII, 12, gives René as the son of Abraham Metote and Madeleine Meseray.

Bellecour

Joseph Bellecourt, *voyageur* and habitant. His wife was Marie Mercier; there is record of the birth of a daughter, Marie Joseph, April 2, 1762, and a son, Joseph, June 28, 1764.

A will of his, dated October 11, 1748, has bequests to Jean Baptiste Gouin *dit* Champagne and Louis Robert, his relatives. Apparently, then, his wife was the daughter of Jean Baptiste Mercier and Marie Madeleine Baret, for one of their daughters, Madeleine, married Louis Robert. Their son, Jean Baptiste, was married to one of the daughters of François Lacroix and Barbe Montmeunier, another daughter being the wife of Jean Baptiste Gouin *dit* Champagne. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, V). Jean Baptiste Chauvin, named executor of the will, was an uncle of Madeleine Mercier.

On July 19, 1751, Joseph Bellecourt bought from Joseph Desruisseaux eighteen arpents *en face* along the Mississippi in the Grand Prairie between the land of the

Dutisné heirs and that of the heirs of Pierre Chabot. (*Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, VIII).

An L. Belcour was *huisser* in Illinois in 1728. He may have been a relative.

Baptiste deschant

Michel Lejeune

Michel Lejeune *dit* Le Gaspare, Swiss, son of Claude Lejeune and Catherine. His wife was Marie Madeleine Hennet, daughter of another Swiss, François Hennet *dit* Sanschagrin (see entry for him above), whom he married in April, 1740. (*Abstracts*). They had at least two children:

1. Michel, baptized July 7, 1744.
2. Joseph, baptized December 4, 1746.

Marie Françoise Lejeune, wife of Pierre Perault and mother of a daughter born November 15, 1761, was probably another child of Michel Lejeune. Michel Lejeune, the son, was godfather at the baptism.

On June 26, 1744, Michel Lejeune, artisan of Fort de Chartres, bought some land located in Prairie Chassin from Guillaume Mercier *dit* Toulouse and his wife, Marie Jeanne Mercier. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, VI).

Veuve Lafleuve

Probably the widow of Claude Lafleuve of St. Philippe, who died there February 25, 1751, aged about 50 years. The register of Ste. Anne states that he was unable to confess because he was deaf and dumb.

On June 9, 1736, he was engaged by St. Joseph Philipaux to go to Illinois. (*Rapport de L'Archiviste*, 1929-1930:336).

Étienne LaLande

The son of Jacques Guillemot *dit* Lalande, captain of the militia, and Marie Tetio. Born and baptized July 14, 1721, at Kaskaskia, he had a twin brother, Gabriel, who died sometime between January, 1739, and January, 1740. The twins' godparents were Étienne Hebert, Gabriel Bertrand Cardinal, Agnes Philippe, and Madeleine Quesnel. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, III; *Répertoire de la Paroisse*).

The children of Jacques Lalande and Marie Tetio were:

1. Jacques, baptized February 10, 1715, at Kaskaskia.
2. Élizabeth, baptized November 20, 1717.

3. Marie Charles, baptized November 20, 1717; married Pierre Aubuchon; buried February 8, 1765.

4. and 5. Gabriel and Étienne, born and baptized July 14, 1721. Étienne on June 1, 1744, married Jeanne Perthius, native of Detroit, the daughter of Pierre Perthius and Catherine Malet.

6. Jean Baptiste, born in 1722, died April 27, 1724.

Jacques Lalande, the elder, died about January 18, 1739, for on that date his wife was elected guardian of their children, Jacques, Gabriel, and Étienne; Charles Pepin, their cousin because of his wife, was elected their *subroge* tutor. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, III).

There was another family of Lalandes in Illinois at the same time, that of Jean Baptiste Guillemot *dit* Lalande, son of Jacques François Guillemot and Madeleine Dupont, baptized at Montreal July 18, 1694. (Tanguay, V, 417). He married Catherine Ouabanakicoue, an Indian, the widow of Louis Texier, *marguiller* of Kaskaskia, who died at Natchez, June 3, 1721.

A son, Marc Antoine, was born October 7, 1723, and baptized October 20, with Marc Antoine de la Loëre des Ursins, director of the Company, and Marguerite, an Indian, as his godparents.

On February 20, 1734, Jean Baptiste married Charlotte Marchand at Montreal. They were the parents of:

1. Charles, baptized June 6, 1735.

2. Charlotte, married Jacques Lacourse, widower of Jeanne Bienvenu, February 3, 1749.

3. Louis, born February 25, 1744.

4. Élisabeth, married Charles Bienvenu *dit* Delisle, June 2, 1760. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

On May 12, 1724, one-half league on the Grand Prairie stretching from the hills to the Mississippi was granted by the Company to Jean Baptiste Lalande. (*American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, map opposite p. 182).

I have no actual proof, but I strongly suspect that Jacques and Jean Baptiste were brothers. Tanguay (I, 291) gives a Jacques, baptized July 20, 1690, at Montreal as one of the children of Jacques François Lalande and Madeleine Dupont.

PRAIRIE DU ROCHER

Sansregret

Probably Ambroise Moreau *dit* Sansregret. He was granted two and one-half arpents *en face* at Prairie du Rocher May 2, 1737, adjoining the lands of René Grudé and François Corset. (*American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, map of Prairie du Rocher).

His wife was Jeanne Paule. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, II, April 21, 1733).

François de Chofoeur Louvier

No doubt a relative of Michel Louvier and Pierre Louvier, but I have so far found no record of a François in the Illinois (see entry for Michel Louvier, above).

Augustin Langlois

Augustin Langlois, merchant, one of the chief habitants of Prairie du Rocher. He was probably the Augustin listed by Tanguay (I, 346) who was the eighth of the twelve children of Germain Langlois and Jeanne Chalifour of Quebec, baptized at Charlesbourg February 6, 1692.

He and his two brothers, Étienne, baptized at Charlesbourg June 2, 1686, and Louis, baptized at Quebec, August 28, 1698, were settled on Bienville's concession near New Orleans in 1728. Augustin held six arpents there, Étienne seven, and Louis ten. (*La. Hist. Quart.*, X, 9).

Just when Augustin came to Illinois is not certain, but on August 10, 1737, at New Orleans the following document, dated August 7, 1737, was recorded by Louis Langlois:

"Ste. Thérèse de l'Angloiserie gives to Augustin l'Anglois my domain of Rock Prairie [Prairie of the Rock] and I exact nothing from the [other] settlers on the same Prairie; they are all lords and masters." (*Ibid.*, V, 408).

According to *American State Papers (Public Lands*, II, map of Prairie du Rocher), in July, 1737, seven arpents were "surveyed" near Prairie du Rocher for Augustin Langlois.

His wife was Louise Beaudreau or Beaudron. They were the parents of:

1. A son, aged 1 year, died in 1744.

2. Louise, born in New Orleans, married first Simon Gautier, February 10, 1741, and then, while still a minor, Joseph Liberville *dit* Joyeuse of La Chine, June 14, 1745. He in turn married on May 23, 1758, Madeleine Monique Boudrand, widow of Richard.

3. Marie Joseph who made a marriage contract with François Marie Gilbert *dit* Sanspeur April 27, 1749.

4. Antoine, born January, 1750.

Louis Langlois, brother of Augustin, was also an Illinois merchant, but he ordinarily lived at New Orleans. His wife was Marie Louise Girardy, later the wife of Charles Tarascon. Louis died about 1750. (*La. Hist. Quart.*, XXII, 1177, 1185).

Étienne Langlois was likewise a merchant in Illinois and lieutenant of the militia. He had died by 1737. His wife was Marie Catherine Beaudreau (probably the sister of Louise, above), who bore him the following children:

1. Perrine, married Michel Forestier.
2. François.
3. Louis.
4. Augustin.
5. Gerard, married Marie Anne Dubois.
6. Marie Joachim, born in New Orleans, married Louis de Populus, ensign at Fort de Chartres, in August, 1740.
7. Antoinette, married Pierre Boucher Moubrun de la Seaudrais. ^{1740, 1743}
8. Marie, married Pierre Messager. (*La. Hist. Quart.*, XIX, 1080, 1084; XXI, 292).

Their mother married Urbain Gervais, and died in New Orleans in December, 1747, leaving "six or seven" children (apparently by her marriage to Gervais). (*Ibid.*, XIX, 755).

he was dead by Feb 25, 1740

Louii Despagne

Louis Levasseur *dit* Louis Despagne, living in Fort de Chartres in 1737. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, II, February 5, 1737).

Bastien et J. B. Morin

François Bastien and Jean Baptiste Morin.

Jean Baptiste was the husband of Bastien's daughter, Marie, and father of two children, Marie and Baptiste Morin.

François Bastien may have been a Swiss. There are documents which speak of a François Sébastien *dit* François le Suisse of Fort de Chartres, who might possibly have been the François Bastien of the census. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, V). In July, 1737, he was granted four arpents of land at Prairie du Rocher. (*American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, map opposite p. 182).

His wife, in 1737, was Françoise. He was the father of:

1. Marie, who married Jean Baptiste Morin, died by 1763.
2. A son, who was buried October 30, 1743, at eighteen months.

Bastien died on, or just before, June 10, 1763, for on that date an inventory was made of his estate which amounted in value to 38,165 livres 6 sous. Among other things, he owned a house at Prairie du Rocher, a mill, three negroes, an Indian female slave and her daughter, a mulatto and her daughter, three arpents of land at Du Rocher, two arpents elsewhere, and one arpent at La Prairie. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, V).

Veuve Legras

It is difficult to say just to whom this entry refers, for there were in the Illinois country three brothers Legras and a fourth man of the same name who may have been another brother or a son of one of them.

Jean Baptiste Legras, interpreter and merchant of Montreal, was their father. By his first wife, Marie Genevieve Maillet, he had seven children, among them a son, Daniel, baptized at Montreal February 16, 1698. (Tanguay, V, 300). Daniel married Susanne Kerami, an Indian, widow of Antoine Beauisseron *dit* Leonard, at Kaskaskia June 7, 1728. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*). She died October 28, 1747. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, V). Daniel died about January 14, 1748. (*Ibid.*).

By his second wife, Marie Philippe, Jean Baptiste had four children, two of them sons: Jean Baptiste and Charles Dominique, who went to the Illinois country also. Jean Baptiste, *le jeune*, was baptized April 8, 1705, and married Genevieve Gamelin January 11, 1733. Charles was baptized August 4, 1709, at Montreal and was killed on the Ohio in the latter part of 1741. A sale of his goods was made at Kaskaskia December 5, 1741. (*Ibid.*, Private Papers, IV).

The fourth Legras in Illinois was Jean Ignace, of Prairie du Rocher, who had died by January 21, 1740. (*Ibid.*, Private Papers, III). His wife was Jeanne Germain who married, after Legras' death, Jean Chabot, her third husband. He had died by 1749. A daughter of Jean Ignace and Jeanne, whose name was also Jeanne, married Jean Baptiste Barbeau October 29, 1748. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 54).

It is possible, of course, that the Veuve Legras of the census was Jeanne Germain, but I think it improbable that she would have been called "The Widow Legras" rather than the "Widow Chabot."

There are two other Legras' unaccounted for. A Michel Legras was a witness at Fort de Chartres, January 11, 1752 (*ibid.*), and a Legras who was a hunter for the Company of the Indies died without heirs at Kaskaskia in October, 1724. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, I).

According to the map of Prairie du Rocher in *American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, on July 9, 1737, one arpant at Du Rocher was "surveyed" for Ignace Legras; the previous day six arpents there were "surveyed" for Legras *dit Groce Jean*.

Barbo Lejeune

Barbo l'aime

Barbeau the younger and Barbeau the elder. The relationship of the various Barbeau men is rather confused.

Jean Baptiste Barbeau, son of Jean Baptiste Barbeau and Silvie Le Moine (or Marné), married Catherine Alarie, daughter of Henri Alarie and Jeanne, August 2, 1746. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 36). I have a record of one son, Joseph, born January 29, 1750, baptized at Ste. Anne's the following day; his godfather was Baptiste Barbeau, and his godmother, Marie Grudé. (*Ibid.*, 61).

Then the same register has an entry for October 29, 1748, in which it is stated that Jean Baptiste Barbeau, son of the late Baptiste Barbeau and . . ., living then in New Orleans, married Jeanne, daughter of the late Jean Ignace Legras and Jeanne Germain. Which one of these Jean Baptistes is the elder and which the younger, I do not know.

Jean Baptiste Barbeau, the elder, was a master carpenter and joiner. There are several records among the Kaskaskia Manuscripts of land sales to him in the 1740's and 1750's.

habitation de lasonde

(See entry, above, for Pierre Pilet *dit Lasonde*).

habitation de Bienvenu

Land belonging to Antoine Bienvenu of Kaskaskia (see above). On May 2, 1737, four arpents front from the hills to the Mississippi at Prairie du Rocher was granted to Antoine Bienvenu and a second grant of one arpant front there was made July 9, 1737. (*American State Papers, Public Lands*, II, map opposite p. 182).

Pol Biset

Veuve Gossio

Marie Rose Gonneau, widow of Charles Gossiaux, master mason, who died February 8, 1751, aged about 52 years. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 66). She had previously been the wife of Pierre Claude Marechal, by whom she had a son, Pierre Claude. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, VI, January 30, 1743).

Charles Gossiaux was the son of Philippe Gossiaux of the diocese of Cambrai; on September 13, 1723, at Kaskaskia he married Jeanne Bienvenu, daughter of Philippe Bienvenu and Françoise Alarie, native of the parish of l'Pleines in the diocese of Cannes. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*). She had died by September 12, 1729,

when an assembly of relatives and friends was held to elect guardians for her minor children. There were two at least:

1. Jacques.

2. Jeanne, who married Guillaume Mercier *dit* Toulouse, and who died December 21, 1746.

By his second wife, Marie Gonneau, he was the father of:

1. Marie, who married Jean Gilbert, son of Simon Gilbert and Margaret Lepage, May 3, 1746. (Fort de Chartres Register, Transcript, 31).

Gilbert sanpeur

Probably Antoine Gilbert *dit* Sanspeur, husband of Dorothée Mercier, the widow of Nicolas Thuillier Devegnais and of Pierre Chabot, whom he married at Kaskaskia, July 13, 1756. (*Régistre de la Paroisse*).

February 4, 1746, the partnership between Gilbert Sanspeur, *voyageur*, and Pierre Galand, *voyageur*, was dissolved.

CAHOKIA

M. Mercier, Ptre

Jean Baptiste Mercier, priest of the Seminary of Foreign Missions, Superior of the Cahokia Mission.

Le sieur Mersié

Doubtless François Mercier, whose wife was Catherine Lafontaine (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, V, January 11, 1749). Tanguay gives François as the son of Jean François Mercier, and his wife as Ursule la Fortune, whom he married about 1718. They were the parents of a daughter who was born in September, 1727, at Quebec, and who died there the following month. Ursule died at Cahokia March 11, 1755. (Tanguay, V, 666). It is quite possible that Catherine Lafontaine and Ursule La Fortune are the same individual.

The family of Merciers was a big one in Illinois and the relationships are considerably involved. Just what relation François Mercier of Cahokia was to Jean Baptiste Mercier of Kaskaskia (see entry, above, for him) I do not know, but it is quite likely that they were related.

François Mercier of Cahokia was a blacksmith.

Martin

Jacques Martin, native of the diocese of Tarentaise in Savoy. His wife was Catherine Noizet-Labbé; their children were:

1. Marie, baptized September 12, 1748, at Cahokia.

2. Jacques, baptized January 11, 1751.

3. Gabriel, baptized February 14, 1753. (Tanguay, V, 542).

On June 26, 1747, he bought some land in Cahokia prairie from François Mercier. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, VIII).

Rotiseur

An Antoine Rotisseur was a *voyageur*, and on September 23, 1737, was hired by Alphonse Moreau, another *voyageur*, to accompany him to Missouri to trade with the Indians. Moreau agreed to furnish his *engagé* with moccasins and pay him 250 livres in beavers or other peltries upon their return to Kaskaskia. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, III).

Louis geau

His name is spelled variously. On Father Mercier's map of Cahokia his name is spelled Louis Gault. He was a habitant of the village.

Capucin

Jean Augustin Perrin *dit Capucin*, in 1740 a habitant of Fort de Chartres. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, IV, September 4, 1740).

He was the godfather and *subroge* tutor of Marie Thérèse Pancrasse of Cahokia. (*Ibid.*, Private Papers, IV).

Baroy

Jacques Barrois, one of the nine children of Jean Baptiste Barrois, royal notary of Illinois, and Madeleine Cardinal. Those children were:

1. Joseph, baptized at Detroit, 1722.
2. Bonaventure, baptized at Detroit, 1724; he was a prisoner of the English in 1760 at the time of the division of his father's estate.
3. Louis, baptized July 14, 1732.
4. Marianne, born in Montreal, married April 27, 1745, to Pierre la Ferne, surgeon at Illinois.
5. Jacques, October 12, 1747, married Susanne Baron, aged 17. Jacques must have died shortly after the census was taken, for on January 7, 1754, his widow married Joseph Clermont. (Tanguay, II, 131).
6. Céleste Thérèse, married in 1757 to François Le Fevre du Chouquet.
7. Madeleine, whose first husband was Louis Marin, whom she married in 1739; he had died by 1759. Her second husband was Louis Robineau de Portneuf, the widower of Marie Thérèse Trudeau.
8. François, still a minor in 1760.
9. Catherine, whose first husband was Jean Baptiste Becquet. Her second husband was Joseph du Plassy (or Placé).

Veuve Lajoy

Probably Marie Thérèse Pancrasse, daughter of Pancrasse of Strasbourg and Marie Henne, both of whom were dead by 1746. She married Joseph Brault *dit Pominvile* October 9, 1743, at Cahokia. He was killed by the Sioux May 19, 1745. (Tanguay, II, 454). On January 10, 1746, at Cahokia she married Bernard Bouillon *dit Lajoy*, son of Valentin Bouillon and Marie Françoise Richer of the diocese of Soissons. They were parents of:

1. Marie Thérèse, baptized November 24, 1746, at Cahokia.
2. Veuve Lajoy married for the third time February 15, 1752, at Cahokia to Jean Roy *dit Lapensé*. (Tanguay, VII, 71). They were the parents of:
 1. Jean Pierre, baptized April 2, 1753.
 2. Marie Thérèse, baptized April 30, 1755.
 3. Joseph, baptized February 19, 1757.
 4. Alexis, baptized November 10, 1758.
 5. François Ange, baptized October 2, 1760. (*Ibid.*).

Lafleur

Paul Poupart *dit Lafleur*, son of Jean Poupart and Marianne Eugene. He entered into a marriage contract at Cahokia January 11, 1749, with Françoise, daughter of the late Pierre Santorum and the late Genevieve Billard. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, V).

Lapensé

Jean Roy *dit Lapensé*, son of François Roy and Catherine Plumereau, baptized at La Chine March 31, 1708. He was married first at Montreal April 24, 1741, to Marguerite Boyer, daughter of Antoine Boyer and Louise Payet *dit St. Amour*, who was baptized August 16, 1711, at Montreal and died there January 14, 1748. Their children were:

1. Jean Baptiste, baptized at Montreal March 19, died July 13, 1742.
2. Pierre, baptized May 26, 1743.

3. Ignace, baptized December 31, 1747, married February 18, 1770, to Marie Joseph de Rainville at St. Constant. (Tanguay, VII, 82-83).

He married a second time, February 15, 1752, at Cahokia to Marie Thérèse Pancrasse, widow of Bernard Bouillon *dit Lajoy* (see entry, above, for *Veuve Lajoy*).

Laviolette

Pierre Dumont *dit Laviolette*, *voyageur, négociant*, son of François Dumont and Jeanne Dumas. He was born April 22, 1704, at Bout de l'Isle, Montreal. On September 5, 1747, at Kaskaskia he made a marriage contract with Agnes Marthe Clement, native of Flanders, and widow of Augustin St. Yves. She was born in 1711 and died at Cahokia December 21, 1751. They were the parents of:

1. Marie Joseph, baptized at Cahokia September 24, 1751; died there January 16, 1752. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, V; Tanguay, III, 535, 537).

des Noyé

Joseph Marcheteau des Noyers, merchant and *voyageur*, one of the fifteen children of Pierre Marcheteau and Marie Marguerite Pilet, baptized at Montreal October 6, 1699. His first wife was Madeleine Robert, born in 1711, whom he married at Detroit February 1, 1728, and who died at Montreal November 21, 1730. They had two children:

1. Joseph, baptized at Detroit December 2, 1728; died there December 22, 1729.

2. Jeanne, baptized at Detroit March 20, 1730, married January 7, 1747, at Cahokia to Charles Routier.

Joseph's second wife was Élisabeth Leduc, whom he married at Montreal February 9, 1733. They were the parents of:

1. Élisabeth, baptized at Montreal September 6, 1734; married at Cahokia January 19, 1752, to Jean Baptiste Becquet.

2. Antoine, baptized at Montreal April 5, died April 15, 1736.

3. Marie Joseph, married at Cahokia January 12, 1750, to Toussaint Cellier, died there July 10, 1759.

4. Joseph, baptized June 18, 1744, at Bout de l'Isle, Montreal.

The elder Joseph Marcheteau was the brother of Louis Marcheteau des Noyers of Fort de Chartres (see his entry, above).

Routier

Charles Amador Routier, mason, son of Jean Baptiste Routier and his second wife, Marie Barbe Moisan, baptized at Ste. Foye January 22, 1710, married January 7, 1747, at Cahokia to Jeanne, daughter of Joseph Marcheteau des Noyers and Madeleine Robert (see above). Their children included:

1. Charles, baptized at Cahokia, November 5, 1747.

2. Genevieve, baptized at Cahokia April 6, 1749, married Louis Bissonnet at St. Louis, April 30, 1771.

Charles Routier, the elder, died in 1777. (Billon, *Annals*, 427).

Locat

Pierre Locat, husband of Marie Chevalier, father of René, who married Marie Aubuchon in 1776.

Marechal

Nicolas Marechal, son of Jean Marechal and Dame Meunier, native of the bishopric of Verdun. On August 20, 1735, he made a marriage contract with Marie Jeanne Illeret, daughter of Claude Illeret and Marie Martin, native of Fort de Chartres. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, II).

They were the parents of nine children:

1. Marie Joseph, baptized September 28, 1745, at Cahokia.

2. Marie Catherine, baptized October 19, 1747, married September 6, 1767, to François Moreau at St. Louis.
3. Jean Baptiste, baptized August 29, 1749.
4. François, baptized March 31, 1751, married in 1775 to Marie Thérèse Riviere.
5. Marie Susanne, baptized July 23, 1753, died August 20, 1754.
6. Jacques, married in 1784 to Genevieve Cardinal.
7. Antoine, baptized in 1754, married at St. Louis to Catherine Tabéau, January 7, 1777.
8. Joseph, baptized October 13, 1755.
9. Marie Élisabeth, baptized November 1, 1757, first married January 19, 1774, to Antoine Martin at St. Louis, then February 20, 1791, to Jean Baptiste Primeau at St. Louis. (Tanguay, V, 507).

Peltie

Probably Peltier (see entry, above, for Antoine Peltier *dit* Antaya).

Placit

Probably Place.

Dorion

Joseph Dorion, one of the fourteen children of Pierre Dorion and Genevieve Chapeau of Quebec, baptized there April 5, 1717. (Tanguay, III, 432). On August 10, 1749, at Cahokia he entered into a marriage contract with Marie Anne Padoka, widow of Louis Richard.

Alarie

See the entry, above, for François Alarie. Very likely this Alarie belongs to the same family.

St. Jean

Jean Andreau *dit* St. Jean, son of Jean Andreau and Marie Bobin, entered into a marriage contract with Marie Louise at Cahokia, July 5, 1749. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, V). According to the unreliable *Abstracts*, Marie Louise was the widow of Charles Erhy of Quebec.

STE. GENEVIEVE

Larose

André Deguire, son of André Deguire *dit* Larose and Élisabeth Bourbonnois. Captain of the militia at Ste. Genevieve. On August 24, 1756, he married Marguerite Gouvereau, daughter of Étienne Gouvereau and Marie Millet. February 26, 1759, he married the widow of Joseph Baron.

Jean Baptiste Deguire *dit* Larose, master tailor of Kaskaskia, may have been a brother of André, *le jeune*.

Antoine Obichon

Antoine Aubuchon, son of Joseph Aubuchon and Élisabeth Cusson, baptized in Montreal November 13, 1703. (Tanguay, II, 69). Brother of Joseph, Jean Baptiste, and Pierre, all habitants of Kaskaskia.

His wife was Élisabeth, daughter of Joseph Delaunais and Élisabeth Bourbonnois. (See entry, above, for Larose. The mother of his wife was the mother of André Deguire by her second husband.)

They were parents of:

1. Antoine, married Marie Veronneau, daughter of Jean Baptiste Veronneau and Marthe Duplessis, in Ste. Genevieve in 1766.
2. Élisabeth, married Dominique, son of Jean Baptiste la Source and Françoise Rivard July 1, 1755.

Duboy et Truto

A René Dubois witnessed a bill of sale at Kaskaskia October 31, 1747, and a Louis Truto was a witness there September 26 of the same year. (Kaskaskia MSS., Commercial Papers, VII).

Whether these are the Dubois' and Trutos of the census I do not know. On July 15, 1758, one Dubois, habitant of Ste. Genevieve, sold a house and the land around it with the small buildings on it to Jacques Lacourse of Kaskaskia. He himself had bought the land from Pierre Billeron; the buildings were his own work. (*Ibid.*, Commercial Papers, IX).

I would guess that "Truto" should have been spelled "Trudeau" and that the person here referred to was a brother of Dame Marie Thérèse Trudeau, wife of the commandant of the Illinois, Alphonse la Buissonniere; after his death on December 11, 1740, she married Louis Robineau de Portneuf, officer at Illinois. At least two of her brothers, sons of François Trudeau of New Orleans, lived in Illinois.

*Ledoux**Otoine Eneo*

Antoine Heneaux, son of Toussaint Heneaux and Antoinette Potier. He was a resident of Fort de Chartres when his wife, Cécile Bourbonnois, daughter of Jean Brunet *dit* Bourbonnois and Élisabeth Deshayes, died there December 23, 1743, aged about 22 years. (Fort de Chartres Register, 13).

In June, 1745, he married Charlotte Chassin at Fort de Chartres. She was probably the daughter of Agnes Philippe and Nicolas Michel Chassin, clerk of the Company.

They were the parents of:

1. Angélique, born March 23, 1746.
2. Toussaint, born August 28, 1748.

His third wife was Michele Placé (or Duplassy), whom he married in June, 1754. (*Abstracts*).

Jaque Chouquet

Jacques Lefévre du Chouquet, son of Louis Lefebvre, merchant of Montreal, and Angélique Perthius, baptized at Montreal March 17, 1708. (Tanguay, V, 266-267). On January 19, 1739, he made a marriage contract with Marie Teto, widow of Jacques Lalande, at Kaskaskia. (Kaskaskia MSS., Private Papers, III).

J. B. Beauvay

Jean Baptiste Beauvais, probably the son of Jean Baptiste Ste. Gemme Beauvais and Marie Louise Lacroix of Kaskaskia, or possibly the elder Beauvais himself. *Dec. 15, 17* *K Rec Book I*

Bon dit Simonfold

p. 225

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INDEX TO NAMES

Aco (Accault), Michael, 13, 14, 75
 Aco, Pierre, 14, 33
 Adhemar, Gaspard, Sieur de Lantagnac,
 107
 Adhemar, Marie Anne, 107
 Aiet (Ayet), Marie Françoise, 85, 88, 97
 Aiet, N., 84
 Alarie (Alary, Allaric, Allard), Cath-
 erine, 84, 85, 89, 90, 115
 Alarie, François Joseph, 80, 88, 90, 119
 Alarie, Françoise, 36, 80, 88, 95, 115
 Alarie, Henri, 115
 Alarie, Hyacinthe, 90
 Alarie, Jacques, 90, 91
 Alarie, Jean Baptiste, 82, 90, 94
 Alarie, Jeanne, 115
 Alarie, Marie Catherine, 91
 Alarie, Marie Jeanne, 91
 Alarie, Marie Louise, 85, 88, 90
 Alarie, Philippe, 80
 Alarie, Pierre, 80
 Alarie, René, 82, 90, 94
 Allain, Benoît, *dit* Tourangeau, 63
 Amiot, Jean Baptiste, 62
 Anard, Agnes, 80
 Andreau, Jean, 119
 Andreau, Marie Louise, 119
 Antaya, *see* Peltier.
 Ariga, Dorothéa, 82
 Aube, Josephe, 85
 Aubert, Father, 27
 Aubert, Toinette, 106
 Aubuchon, Antoine, 84, 89, 90, 94, 119
 Aubuchon, Catherine, 109
 Aubuchon, Charles, 97
 Aubuchon, Elizabeth, 22, 83, 84, 89, 94,
 119
 Aubuchon, Gabriel, 97
 Aubuchon, Henri, 86
 Aubuchon, Jean Baptiste, 35, 62, 94, 119
 Aubuchon, Joseph, 21, 81, 91, 94, 97, 119
 Aubuchon, Louis, 94
 Aubuchon, Marie, 82, 84, 86, 90, 94, 96,
 104, 118
 Aubuchon, Pierre, 66, 82, 83, 84, 90, 91,
 94, 109, 112, 119
 Aufrere, Marie Thérèse, 84
 Avariée, Madelcine, 81
 Axiga, Thérèse, 80
 Babstot, Marie Barbe, 107
 Baby, R., 103
 Baillargeon, Antoine, 15
 Baillargeon, Domitilla, 15, 79, 88, 90
 Baillargeon, Dorothée, 79
 Baillargeon, Pierre, 15, 79
 Banchaud, Anne, 82
 Barbeau, Jean Baptiste, 30, 62, 86, 115
 Barbeau, Jeanne, 86
 Barbeau, Joseph, 115
 Baret, Marie Madeleine, 73, 79, 111
 Baron, Jean Baptiste, 100
 Baron, Joseph, 100, 119
 Baron, Marguerite, 100
 Baron, Marie Catherine, 45, 100
 Baron, Pierre, 84
 Baron, Susanne, 54, 96, 100, 117
 Barqueville, Chevalier, 102
 Barreau (Barraux), Catherine, 105, 106
 Barrois, Antoine Jean Baptiste, 96
 Barrois, Bonaventure, 96, 117
 Barrois, Catherine, 96, 117
 Barrois, Céleste Thérèse, 96, 117
 Barrois, François, 96, 117
 Barrois, Jacques, 96, 100, 117
 Barrois, Jean Baptiste (Bertlot *dit* Bar-
 rois), 20, 73, 82, 96, 99, 117
 Barrois, Joseph, 96, 117
 Barrois, Louis, 20, 96, 117
 Barrois, Madeleine, 96, 99, 117
 Barrois, Marianne, 73, 82, 96, 117
 Bastien, François (Sebastien François?),
 46, 114
 Bastien, Françoise, 114
 Bastien, Marie, 114
 Bastien, Sieur, 60
 Baston, Jacques, 63, 81, 93
 Baud, Marie Marguerite, 85, 87
 Baudry, Marie Anne, 110
 Beau, Marie Anne Antoine, 105, 110
 Beaubin, Hubert, 63
 Beaubois, Father, 21, 43
 Beaudreau, Louise, 92, 113, 114, ^{Baudreau, Marie S.me f.}
 Beaudreau, Marie Catherine, 84, 93, 114
 Beaudron (Boudrand), Marie Madeleine
 Monique, 84, 92, 94, 113
 Beaugenoux, Agnes Françoise, 107
 Beaugenoux, Charles, 107
 Beaugenoux, Élisabeth, 107
 Beaugenoux, Hélène, 107
 Beaugenoux, Marie Joseph, 107
 Beaugenoux, Nicolas, 66, 107
 Beaugenoux, Thérèse, 107
 Beaujeu, 108
 Beaupre, Jean Baptiste, 62
 Beausseron, Antoine (Beausseron *dit*
 Leonard), 22, 33, 59, 79, 114
 Beausseron, Augustin, 33
 Beauvais, Alexis, 91

Beauvais, Antoine, 84
 Beauvais, Catherine, 22, 84, 89, 91
 Beauvais, Élisabeth, 84
 Beauvais, Jean Baptiste St. Gemme, 60,
 83, 93, 95, 108, 120
 Beauvais, Marie Charlotte, 90, 91
 Beauvais, Marie Françoise, 91
 Beauvais, Marie Jeanne, 83, 95
 Beauvais, Raphael, 62, 65, 84, 85, 89, 91,
 95
 Becquet, François, 81
 Becquet, Françoise, 106
 Becquet, heirs of, 60
 Becquet, Jean, 61, 106
 Becquet, Jean Baptiste, 60, 61, 81, 96, 98,
 105, 106, 117, 118
 Becquet, Jean Baptiste Nicolas, 106
 Becquet, Jean François, 15, 106
 Becquet, Louis, 106
 Becquet, Marguerite, 105, 106
 Becquet, Marie, 106
 Becquet, Pierre, 106
 Becquet, Widow, 106
 Beijard, Sieur, 98
 Belcour, L., 112
 Bellecourt, Joseph, 111
 Bellecourt, Marie Joseph, 111
 Bellegard, 104
 Bellehumeur, Élizabeth, 81
 Benoist, Jean Baptist, Sieur de St. Claire
 (variously spelled), 17, 83, 95, 100,
 101, 102, 105
 Bertet, Chevalier de, 17, 56, 82
 Bicheron, Catherine, 83, 93
 Bienvenu (two families, one is *dit* De-
 lisle), 95
 Bienvenu, Antoine, 21, 59, 80, 81, 82, 83,
 93, 94, 95, 101, 115
 Bienvenu, Antoine Laurent, 83
 Bienvenu, Charles, *dit* Delisle, 63, 85, 113
 Bienvenu, Élisabeth, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 94,
 95
 Bienvenu, François, *dit* Delisle, 63, 85
 Bienvenu, habitation of, 115
 Bienvenu, Jeanne, 36, 80, 81, 83, 93, 95,
 113, 115
 Bienvenu, Louis, *dit* Delisle, 83
 Bienvenu, Marie, 35, 83, 95, 101, 102
 Bienvenu, Philippe, 31, 33, 36, 61, 63, 80,
 88, 95, 115
 Bienville, 12, 25, 75, 76, 103, 113
 Billard, Genevieve, 117
 Billeron, Jacques (*dit* La Fatigue), 74,
 89
 Billeron, Joseph, 74, 80
 Billeron, Leonard, 20, 74, 82, 83, 84, 86,
 88, 89
 Billeron, Marianne, 74, 82, 86, 89, 94
 Billeron, Pierre, 74, 83, 89, 94, 120
 Bineteau, Father, 15
 Biset, Pol, 115
 Bissonet, Joseph, 62
 Bissonet, Louis, 118
 Bissonet, Marie Charlotte, 104
 Bizaillon, 15
 Bizaillon, Marie, 15
 Bizaillon, Marie Thérèse, 15
 Bizaillon, Pierre, 15
 Blot, 73, 81
 Blot, Cécile, 100
 Blot, Étienne, 80
 Blot, Nicolas, 80
 Blot, Pierre, 58
 Blouin, Daniel, 87, 88, 109, 111
 Blouin, Hélène, 87
 Blouin, Jean Pierre, 85, 87
 Bobé, Father, 19
 Bobin, Marie, 119
 Bodereau, Marie, 81 *Same as above*
 Bodin, Marie, 84, 91
 Bogy, Senator Victor, 96
 Boisbriant, Pierre Duqué, Sieur de, 17,
 18, 19, 21, 25, 31, 33
 Boisron, Catherine Marie Madeleine
 (variously spelled), 58, 79, 82, 84, 88,
 89, 92, 97
 Boisseau, Thérèse, 80
 Boisset, Jeanette, 108
 Boisset, Louis, 108
 Boisset, Marie Louise, 108
 Bon, *dit* Simonfold, 120
 Bonhomme, Catherine, 62
 Bonhomme (?), Madeleine, 105
 Bonjeau (?), soldier, 107
 Bonnechant, Catherine, 107
 Bonte, Gillet à, 62, 104
 Boré, Jean Baptiste Étienne, 95
 Boré, Jeanne Marguerite, 95
 Boré, Louis, 22, 57, 62, 65, 95
 Boré, Marie Jeanette, 95
 Borel, Marie Françoise, 84
 Bortan, François Cécile (also Bontan),
 81, 82, 96
 Bossett, Marie Louise, 99
 Boucher, Jean Baptiste, 62
 Bouillon, Bernard, *dit* Lajoy, 62, 117, 118
 Bouillon, Marie Thérèse, 117
 Bouillon, Valentin, 117
 Boulanger, Father, 21, 25, 74
 Boulogne, Marie Anne, 104

Boulogne, Marie Jeanne, 103
 Boulogne, Pierre, 104
 Bourbeau, Marie Madeleine (variously spelled), 81, 93, 95
 Bourdon, Jacques, 15, 20, 33, 43, 48, 66, 73
 Bourdon, Marguerite, 15
 Bourdon, Marie, 15
 Bourdon, Michael, 81
 Bourdon, Pierre, 81
 Bouvier, Pierre, 50
 Boyer, Antoine, 81, 117
 Boyer, Jacques, 87
 Boyer, Jeanne, 29, 81, 89
 Boyer, Marguerite, 117
 Boyer, Marianne, 82
 Boyer, Marie Louise, 87
 Boyer, Nicolas, 35, 81, 82, 87, 96, 99
 Boyer, Nicolas Antoine, 87
 Brault, Joseph *dit* Pominville, 117
 Brazeau, Charles, 81, 85, 88, 90
 Brazeau, Françoise, 87
 Brazeau, Joseph, 35, 60, 87
 Brazeau, Louis, 35
 Brazeau, Marie Françoise, 35
 Brontin, map of, 39
 Brosse, Raimond, *dit* St. Cerny, 88
 Brunet (*dit* Bourbonnois), Cécile, 80, 91, 110, 120
 Brunet, Élisabeth, 79, 84, 91, 119
 Brunet, François, 93
 Brunet, Jean, 79, 80, 110, 120
 Brunet, Jean Baptiste, 91, 94
 Brunet, Marie, 83, 84, 91, 94
 Brunet, Marie Louise, 93
 Brussant, Simone, 83, 89
 Buchet, Alexandre, 19, 101
 Buchet, Joseph, 19, 29, 61, 62, 76, 82, 91, 101, 102
 Buchet, M., concession of, 108
 Buchet, Thérèse, 19, 101
 Buteau, Charles, 110
 Buteau, Marie Louise, 110
 Buteau, Pierre, 110
 Buyat, Sieur, 29
 Cabassier, Charles, 83, 93
 Cabassier, François Xavier, 93
 Cabassier, Jean Baptiste, 93
 Cabassier, Louis, 76, 83, 93
 Cabassier, Marie Catherine, 93
 Cadillac, Lamothe, 16
 Cadrim, Michael François (Quadrin), 80
 Cadrin, Nicolas, 15, 80, 81, 106
 Cadron, Charles, *dit* St. Pierre, 105, 108, 109
 Cadron, Marie Anne, 109
 Cadron, Marie Jeanne, 100
 Cadron, Pierre, 105, 108
 Cadron, Pierre Charles, 109
 Caillot, Nicolas, *dit* La Chance, 63, 84
 Campo, Étienne, 15
 Capon, Antoine, *dit* Boisetout, 83, 88
 Capon, Marie Anne, 107
 Capuchins, 76
 Cardinal, Gabriel Bertrand, 112
 Cardinal, Genevieve, 119
 Cardinal, Jacques, 58
 Cardinal, Louise, 58
 Cardinal, Madeleine, 73, 82, 96, 99, 117
 Cardinal, Marie Louise, 58, 98
 Carmouche, Louise, 95
 Caron, Claude, 29, 59, 81, 89
 Caron, Élizabeth, 29, 89
 Caron, Jean Baptiste, 29, 89
 Caron, Marie Joseph, 29, 89
 Carpentier, Henri, 84, 86, 90, 94, 100, 104
 Carpentier, Marie, 86, 94
 Carpentier, Pélagie, 86
 Carrier, Antoine, 22, 62, 79, 95
 Carrier, Céleste Thérèse, 22, 79, 95
 Carrier, Marie Madeleine, 22, 79
 Catherine, Jacques, 104
 Catois, Marie Claire, 74, 79, 82, 83, 86, 88, 89
 Caton, Henri, 94
 Causon, Marie, 79
 Cazé, Sieur, 98
 Cellier, Toussaint, 118
 Cesire, Antoine, 95
 Cesire, Joseph, 95
 Chabot, Jean, 115
 Chabot, Pierre, 15, 79, 92, 116
 Chabot, Pierre, heirs of, 112
 Chabot, Symphorosa, 15
 Chalifour, Jeanne, 113
 Champagne, Pierre, 15
 Chaneclier, Louis, 74, 102, 108
 Channeton, Pierre, 80
 Chapeau, Genevieve, 119
 Chaponga, J. B., 93
 Chapoton, Louis Clotilde, 92
 Chaput, Mathurin, 80, 103
 Chaput, Michael, 80
 Charant, Mathurin, 33, 61
 Charest, Françoise Claire, 93
 Charleville, 57
 Charpain, Mariamne, 99, 105
 Charpentier, Marie Madeleine, 58
 Chartier, Thérèse, 106
 Chassin, Charlotte, 19, 120

Chassin, Madeleine, 19
 Chassin, Marie Agnes, 86
 Chassin, Nicolas Michael, 17, 19, 20, 73,
 74, 86, 120
 Chauvin, Hélene Charleville, 85, 87
 Chauvin, Hypolite, 83, 97
 Chauvin, Jacques, 62, 108
 Chauvin, Jean Baptiste, *dit* Charleville,
 35, 62, 87, 108, 111
 Chauvin, Joseph, *dit* Charleville, 61, 85,
 87, 89
 Chauvin, Jules, 87
 Chauvin, Louis, 63, 83, 87
 Chauvin, Michelle, 43
 Chauvin, Philippe, *dit* Joyeuse, 44, 87
 Chauvin, Thomas, 54, 62
 Chauvin, *Veuve* Loui, 87
 Chene, Marie, 82
 Cheneau, Antoine, *dit* Sanschagrin, 63,
 82, 96
 Chenier, Claude, 93
 Chenier, Joseph, 93
 Chesne, François, 104
 Chesne, Marie, 92
 Cheval, René Pierre, 103
 Chevalier, André, 35, 101
 Chevalier, Élisabeth, 102
 Chevalier, Jean, 19
 Chevalier, Jeanne, 102
 Chevalier, Marie, 118
 Chevalier, Pierre, 102
 Chiquot, Marie Catherine, 96
 Choboyer, Marianne, 99
 Chouteau, 103
 Clairjon, Marguerite, 80, 106
 Clark, George Rogers, 29
 Claude, Victoire, 76
 Clement, Agnes Martha, 91, 118
 Clement, Marc, 80
 Clermont, Joseph, 100, 117
 Cocherin, Robert, 84
 Cochons, Marie, 62, 108
 Coignon, Marie Louise, 104
 Colanson, Barbe, 104
 Coles, Edward, 109
 Colet, 22
 Condé, André August, 73
 Corset, Catherine, 83, 88
 Corset, François, *dit* Coco, 62, 83, 84, 85,
 88, 113
 Corset, Marie Jeanne, 84, 88
 Coulon, François, Sieur de Villiers, 100
 Coulon, Marie, 80, 90
 Couquet, Marguerite, 106
 Courtois, Jean Joseph, 81, 93
 Courtois, Joseph, 59, 63, 81
 Courtois, Marguerite, 93
 Coussot, Simon, 98, 100
 Couturier, Jean Baptiste, 84
 Crely, Antoine, 97
 Crely, Jean Baptiste, 52, 84, 85, 88, 97
 Crely, Jerome, 97
 Crely, Joseph, 85, 88, 89, 97
 Cressman, Marguerite, 84, 88
 Crete, Genevieve, 86
 Crozat, Antoine, 16
 Cuillier, Jean Baptiste, 79
 Cuillier, Nicolas, 79
 Cusson, Élizabeth, 81, 91, 94, 119
 Cusson, Marie, 87
 Dagneau, Marguerite, 85, 94
 Dagneau, Marie Joseph, 103
 Dagneau, Michel, 103
 Dagneau, Philippe, 103
 D'Amour, Pierre Louviere, 36
 Danis, Charles, 44, 79, 80, 82, 90, 97
 Danis, Charles Pierre, 44
 Danis, Dorothée, 44, 79, 82, 97
 Danis, Hélene, 80, 90, 103, 104, 105
 Danis, Louise, 95
 Danis, Marie Anne, 44
 Danis, Michel, 44, 79, 82, 97
 Danis, Pélagie, 97
 Danis, Pierre, 61, 80
 Danis, Thérèse, 91
 Dardenne, Toussaint, 102
 Darenburg, Pierre Frederic, 102
 D'Artaguette, Diron, 13, 15, 17, 25, 38,
 73
 D'Artaguette, Pierre, 76
 D'Aunerville, Antoine Simon, 19, 35, 102
 Dayon, François, 63
 De Baugy, 17
 De Beaupre, Élizabeth, 95
 De Blanc, Cesar, 35, 103
 Deble, Anne Marie, 61, 80
 De Bonaccueil, Genevieve, 83
 De Bourgmont, 99
 De Cheuraineville, Marie Madeleine, 49
 De Couagne, René, 60
 Degaignée, Pierre, 96
 Deganier, Jacques, 82
 Deganier, Jean Baptiste, 82
 Deganier, Marie Catherine, 82, 87
 De Gruys, Antoine, 84
 Deguire, André, *dit* La Rose, 84, 91, 100,
 119
 Deguire, François, 73
 Deguire, Jean Baptiste, 62, 66, 84, 94, 119

Deguire, Marie Joseph, 84
 Deguire, Marie Rose, 82
 De la Barre, Antoine, 107
 De la Barre, Augustin Antoine, 107, 108
 De la Barre, Louis, 107
 De la Barre, Mme, 107, 108
 De la Chaise, 25
 De la Chapelle, Basile, 85, 92
 De la Chapelle, Charles Jannot, 49, 81, 89
 De la Chapelle, Jean Jannot, 85
 De la Chapelle, Pierre, 81, 89
 De la Croix, Monsieur Dussault, 84
 De la Ferne, Pierre Bardet, 96
 De la Forest, 17
 De la Garceniere, Daniel Fagot, 83
 De la Gautrais, Pierre René Harpain, 43, 95, 101
 De la Marque, Louis Marin, 99
 De l'Amour, Louise, 81
 De la Renaudiere, Marie Françoise, 79
 De la Renaudiere, Philippe, 79
 Delaunay, Catherine (also spelled De Launay or De Launais), 104
 Delaunay, Charles Joseph, 15, 79, 91
 Delaunay, Élisabeth, 79, 84, 89, 90, 119
 Delaunay, François, 80
 Delaunay, Jean Jacques, 15
 Delaunay, Joseph, 79, 119
 Delaunay, Louis, 15
 De la Vaure, Clement de Lor, 99
 Delessart, Catherine, 61, 72, 101
 Delisle, 57, 63
 Delisle, Marie Rose, 102
 De Louvier, François Chaufour, 113
 De Louvier, Marguerite, 103
 De Louvier, Marie Anne, 103
 De Louvier, Michel Chaufour, 103, 113
 De Louvier, Michel D'Amours, 103
 De Louvier, Pierre Chaufour, 102, 103, 113
 De Monbrun, François, 93
 De Monbrun, Jean Baptiste, 93, 102
 De Monbrun, Louis, 93
 De Monbrun, Marie Thérèse, 93, 95
 De Monbrun, Pierre Boucher, 58, 93, 95, 114
 De Monbrun, Placide, 93
 De Monbrun, René Jean Boucher, 93
 De Montcharvaux, Charles, 86
 De Montcharvaux, François, 86
 De Montcharvaux, Jean François, 86
 De Montcharvaux, Jean Louis Joseph, 86
 De Montcharvaux, Marie Agnes, 86
 De Montcharvaux, Pierre, 86
 Demonté, Jean Claire, 81, 106
 De Montigny, Monsieur, 15
 De Populus, Louis, 114
 De Portneuf, Louis, 96, 102, 114, 117, 120
 De Poutre, Marie Catherine, 73
 De Rainville, Angélique, 105
 De Rainville, Louise, 111
 De Rainville, Marie Joseph, 118
 D'Éraque, Sieur, 12
 De Rastel, Jean Joseph, 85
 De Rocheblave, Jean Joseph, Marquis, 85
 De Rocheblave, Philippe François, 85, 91
 Derosiers, Antoine, 62
 Derounsay, Angélique, 87
 Derousse, François, 83, 90, 97
 Derousse, Joseph, 97
 Derousse, Jean Baptiste, 97
 Derousse, Pierre, *dit St. Pierre*, 36, 83, 96, 97
 De St. Romain, Dame Elizabeth Sorel, 98, 100
 De St. Vallier, 86
 Desgagniers, Jacques, 88
 Desgagniers, Jean Baptiste, 85, 88
 Desgagniers, Marguerite, 85
 Desgly, Lt., 50
 Deshayes, Élisabeth, 80, 91, 94, 110, 120
 Desjardins, André Thomas, 105
 Desjardins, Marie Joseph, 105
 Desjardins, Pierre, 105
 Des Liettes, Charles Henri, 17, 18, 21, 49
 Desmoulins, Élizabeth, 80, 97
 Desmoulins, François, 88
 Desmoulins, Louis, 88
 Desrosiers, Madeleine, 108
 Desrousselle, Paul (see Roussel)
 Desruisseaux, 30
 Desruisseaux, Joseph, 59, 111
 Des Tours, Marie des Trehans, 95
 Des Ursins, Marc Antoine de la Loëre, 17, 19, 25, 43, 48, 61, 79, 100, 112
 De Truchi, Jeanne, 107
 De Vercheres, Angélique Jarret, 99, 100
 De Verges, Bernard Chevalier, 86
 De Verges, Pierre, 86
 De Vienne, Marie Louise, 86
 De Villiers, Élizabeth, 100, 101
 De Villiers, François Coulon, 99, 100, 101
 De Villiers, Jean Jacques, 101
 De Villiers, Marie, 100
 De Villiers, Neyon, 8, 17, 85, 99
 De Villiers, Nicolas Antoine Coulon, 99, 100
 De Volsey, Pierre François Lusignan, Sieur, 100, 101
 Dielle, François, 35, 36, ~~74~~

Dielle, Jacques, 61
 Dielle, Jean François, 61, 62, 91
 Dillon, Diana Élisabeth, 85
 Dionet, François, 81
 Diron, Capt., 17
 Ditorni, Catherine, 83, 97
 Dizier, François, 35, 87
 Dodier, Élisabeth, 98
 Dodier, Gabriel, 63, 68, 100, 106
 Dodier, Jeanne, 98
 Dodier, Marie Françoise, 98, 106
 Dodier, Marie Madeleine, 98
 Dodier, Marie Thérèse, 98, 100
 Domé, Charles, 83, 93
 Domé, Victoire Claude, 76, 83, 93
 Domené, Jean Jacques, 94
 Dorion, Joseph, 119
 Dorion, Pierre, 119
 Dornon, Jean Baptiste, 83, 91
 Dorval, Antoine, 58, 100
 Doza, Joseph, 66, 84, 94
 Doza, Marguerite, 36
 Doza, Marianne, 94
 Doza, Marie, 85
 Doza, Marie Anne, 85
 Doza, Noël Joseph, 91
 Doza, Pierre, 66, 73, 84, 91, 94
 Drouet, François Antoine, Sieur de Bazolet, 84
 Drouin, Perrine, 102
 Drouin, Pierre, 102
 Drouin, Renée, 47, 102
 Dubois, Françoise, 93, 99
 Dubois, Louis, 93, 99
 Dubois, Marie Anne, 114
 Dubois, René, 120
 Dubord, Élisabeth, 94
 Dubord, Joseph, 84, 94, 95
 Du Chemin, Charles, 105
 Du Chemin, Gilles, 105
 Du Chemin, Thérèse, 105
 Duchene, Jeanne, 80, 110
 Du Chouquet, François, 96, 117
 Du Chouquet, Jacques, 120
 Du Chouquet, Joseph, 82
 Du Chouquet, Louis, 58, 59, 120
 Duclos, Alexandre, 29, 35, 102, 103, 104
 Duclos, Antoine de Selle, 29, 102
 Duclos, Élisabeth, 102
 Duclos, Gabriel, 102
 Duclos, Joseph, 102
 Duclos, Marie Joseph, 102
 Duclos, Pierre, 102
 Duecadie, Sieur, 60, 106
 Dufour, Martias, *dit* Tourangeau, 81, 96
 Dufrésne, 67
 Dufrésne, Jacques Michel, 85, 91
 Dufrésne, Marie Françoise, 91
 Dufrésne, Marie Louise, 91
 Dufrésne, Marie Michel, 85, 91
 Dumas, Jeanne, 118
 Du Merbion, Lt., 17
 Dumont, François, 118
 Dumont, Marie Joseph, 118
 Dumont, Pierre, *dit* Laviolette, 82, 118
 Du Plassy, Joseph, 96, 117
 Duplessis, Marthe, 119
 Dupon, Françoise, 101, 102
 Dupont, Madeleine, 112, 113
 Du Pré, Françoise, 81
 Du Pré, Jean Baptiste, 81
 Du Pré, Pierre, 81
 Durand, Jean, 79
 Durand, Pierre, 79
 Du Rivage, Marie, 85
 Du Tisné, 17, 22, 43, 101
 Du Tisné, Charles Claude, 43
 Du Tisné, heirs of, 112
 Duverge, Jacques, 66, 73
 Eloy, Marie Françoise, 105
 Erhy, Charles, 119
 Eugene, Marianne, 117
 Fabert, Denise, 81
 Fabert, Jean, 81, 106
 Fafart, Joseph, *dit* La Fresnaye, 15
 Fafart, Marianne, 15, 80, 81, 106
 Fafart, Pierre Boisjoly, 15, 80, 106
 Federolle, Catherine Anne, 109
 Felix, Catherine, 85, 89
 Ferrarois, Sieur, 17
 Finnet, Hubert, 98
 Flagg, 27
 Flamand, Pire, 91
 Flaucourt, De la Loëre, 20
 Fontaille, Marie Jeanne, 29
 Forel, Joseph, *dit* Chaponga, 82, 93
 Forestier, Catherine, 15
 Forestier, Michel, 114
 Foret, Marie, 61, 80
 Fortin, Jacques, 99
 Fouillard, Jacques, 80
 Fouillard, Marianne, 80, 82, 83, 89, 106
 Franchomme, 49
 Francoeur, Joseph, 87
 Francoeur, Marianne, 87
 Frederick, surgeon of Illinois, 73
 Gage, 25, 39
 Gagnon, Father François, 98, 100

Galand, Pierre, 116
 Gamelin, Genevieve, 114
 Gaudreau, Étienne, 35, 61, 62
 Gaudrie, Marie Jeanne, 98
 Gautier, Madeleine, 110
 Gautier, Simon, 81, 82, 92, 113
 Geau, Louis (Gault), 116
 Gendron, Jean Baptiste, 100
 Gendron, Pierre, 100
 Gérard, Joachim, 62, 104
 Germain, Jeanne, 115
 Germain, *dit* Matis, 103
 Gervais, François, 66
 Gervais, Urbain, 52, 114
 Giard, Marianne, 84
 Giard, Marie Angélique, 84
 Giard, Pierre, 73
 Gignard, Marguerite, 84, 91, 94
 Gilbert, Antoine, *dit* Sanspeur, 84, 92, 116
 Gilbert, François Marie, 113
 Gilbert, Jean, 84, 116
 Gilbert, Simon, 116
 Gilgau, Jean, *dit* Contois, 107
 Gilgau, Louis, 107
 Girard, Antoine, 83, 91
 Girard, Jean Baptiste, 82, 84, 89, 106
 Girardeau, Jean Baptiste, 43, 79
 Girardeau, Pierre, 79
 Girardy, Marie Louise, 113
 Girardy, Marie Rose, 29
 Glinel, Marie Anne, 79
 Glinel, Marie Joseph, 79
 Glinel, Pierre, 79
 Godeau, François, 88
 Godeau, Louise Marguerite, 84
 Godeau, Marie Josephe, 74, 84, 88
 Godeau, Michel, 74, 84, 85, 88
 Godefroy, Thérèse, 85, 88
 Godefroy, Jacques, 82, 92
 Goilée, Jean Baptiste, *dit* Belisle, 63
 Gonneau, Marie Rose, 36, 115, 116
 Gossiaux, Charles, 36, 80, 115
 Gossiaux, Jacques, 36, 116
 Gossiaux, Jeanne, 36, 116
 Gossiaux, Marie, 36, 116
 Gossiaux, Philippe, 36, 80, 115
 Gossiaux, Pierre, 36
 Gouin, Jean Baptiste, *dit* Champagne, 62, 108, 109, 110, 111
 Gouin, Sébastien, 108, 110
 Goulet, Angélique, 85
 Gouveraux, Antoine, 95
 Gouveraux, Étienne, 63, 83, 84, 87, 119
 Gouveraux, Marguerite, 84, 119
 Grandpré, company of, 107
 Gravier, Father Jacques, 14, 15
 Grignon, Jacques, 36
 Grudé, Marie, 115
 Grudé, René, 61, 80, 113
 Gueret, Pierre, *dit* Dumont, 85, 92, 97
 Guerlin, Catherine, 90
 Guertot, Remy, *dit* L'hermitte, 108
 Guillegot, Jean, 107
 Guillemot, *dit* Lalande, *see* Lalande.
 Guillon, Jean Baptiste, 36
 Guivremont, Étienne, 58
 Guivremont, Jean, 58
 Hayot, Marie Madeleine, 86
 Hebert, August, 104
 Hebert, Étienne, 80, 102, 104, 112
 Hebert, François, 104
 Hebert, Hélène, 90, 103, 104
 Hebert, Ignace, 80, 90, 103, 104
 Hebert, Joseph, 104
 Hebert, Marie, 103, 104
 Hebert, René, 104
 Heneaux, Angélique, 111, 120
 Heneaux, Antoine, 91, 120
 Heneaux, Toussaint, 120
 Henne, Marie, 117
 Hennet, François, *dit* Sanschagrin, 63, 99, 105, 106, 109, 112
 Hennet, Genevieve, 99, 105, 109
 Hennet, Jacques, 99, 105
 Hennet, Joseph, 73, 99
 Hennet, Madeleine Marie, 99, 105, 112
 Hennet, Mathurin, 105
 Henrion, Charles, 66
 Henrion, François, 66
 Henrion, Genevieve, 66
 Henrion, Jean, 66, 107
 Henrion, Marie Anne, 66, 107
 Henrion, Marie Barbe, 66
 Henrion, Pierre, 66
 Henry, Jean, *dit* La Rose, 88
 Henry, Marie Françoise, 85, 91
 Hervy, Charles, 47, 102
 Hilgaard, 58
 Houdet, Jean Baptiste, 102
 Hubert, Daniel, 109
 Hubert, Jean Baptiste, 109
 Hubert, *dit* Lacroix, 109
 Hubert, Louis, 109
 Hubert, Marie Françoise, 109
 Hubert, Marthe, 90
 Hubert, Pierre, 109
 Hubert, Veronique, 109
 Huchet, Marie Thérèse, 85, 88

Huet, Charles, 62, 96
 Huet, Jean, 96
 Huet, Joseph, 54, 96
 Hulin, Agnes, 82, 88, 97
 Hulin, Dorothee, 88, 97
 Hulin, Louise, 82, 88
 Hulin, Marie Louise, 85
 Hulin, Pierre, 50, 82, 88, 96, 97

Iberville, Pierre le Moyne, Sieur, 10, 17
 Illeret, Claude, 61, 80, 118
 Illeret, Marie Jeanne, 118
 Imbert, Nicolas, 61

Janis, Francois, 83, 89
 Janis, Nicolas, 22, 63, 83, 89
 Javoine, Jerome, 62
 Jerome, notary, 20
 Jodain, Françoise, 49
 Joly, Genevieve, 100
 Joly, Marie Françoise, 111 ^{Joubert?}
 Joubert, Antoine, 107 ^{...il la Montaigne?}
 Jousset, Marguerite, 88
 Juchereau, Charles de St. Denys, 10
 Juillet, Angélique, 103
 Jusseaume, Leonard, 85
 Jusseaume, Paul, *dit* St. Pierre, 85, 90

Kennarde, Jeanne, 84
 Kenny, Father, 90
 Kerami, Suzanne, 15, 22, 33, 80, 81, 114
 Kerlerec, Governor, 29, 63
 Kiercereau, Genevieve, 62
 Kiercereau, Gregoire René, 61, 62, 104
 Kiercereau, Marie Madeleine, 62, 97
 Kiercereau, Paul, 62
 Kiercereau, *dit* Renaud, 101
 Kiercereau, Renée, 61
 King, Grace, 95

Labeuf, *dit* St. Laurent, Francois, 103
 La Bolle, Joseph, 63, 84
 La Bonté, Pierre, 52, 63
 La Brier, Catherine, 84, 89
 La Brise, Marie Françoise, 19, 61, 62, 72, 79, 101
 La Brosse, Julianne, 105
 La Buissonniere, Alphonse, 17, 50, 75, 76, 120
 La Chauvetet, Pierre, 106
 La Chenais, Catherine Françoise, 59
 La Chenais, Charlotte, 29, 59, 81, 89
 La Chenais, Francois, 59
 La Chenais, Jean Baptiste, 59
 La Chenais, Louise, 59
 La Chenais, Marie Anne, 59
 La Chenais, Philippe, 29, 59, 61, 81, 89

Laclede, Pierre, 8
 La Course, Jacques, 81, 83, 95, 113, 120
 La Course, Jacques Gabriel, 93
 La Course, Marie Louise, 83, 94
 La Course, Pierre, 81, 82, 84, 93, 94, 95
 La Course, Widow, 94
 La Croix, 63
 La Croix, Agnes, 62, 108
 La Croix, Barbe, 29, 108
 La Croix, Francois, 29, 54, 62, 108, 109, 111
 La Croix, Marie Joseph, 108, 109, 111
 La Croix, Marie Louise, 83, 93, 95, 108, 120
 La Croix, Pierre, 105
 La Ferne, 47
 La Ferne, Anne, 73
 La Ferne, Jean Pierre, 82
 La Ferne, Pierre Ignace Bardet, 73, 82, 96, 117
 Lafleuve, Claude, 112
 Lafleuve, Widow, 112
 Lafontaine, Catherine, 116
 Lafontaine, Marianne, 83, 91
 La Forest, 15
 La Fortune, Ursule, 116
 La Framboise, Antoine, 84
 La Fresniere, Hypolite Chauvin, 83, 97
 Lalande, Charles, 112
 Lalande, Charlotte, 83, 94, 113
 Lalande, Elizabeth, 63, 85, 112, 113
 Lalande, Etienne, 59, 63, 82, 104, 112
 Lalande, Gabriel, 112
 Lalande, (Guillemot, *dit* Lalande), 36, 73
 Lalande, Jacques, 58, 63, 79, 82, 104, 112, 120
 Lalande, Jacques Francois, 112, 113
 Lalande, Jean Baptiste, 35, 83, 85, 94, 112, 113
 Lalande, Louise, 113
 Lalande, Marc Antoine, 112
 Lalande, Marie Charles, 112
 L'Allemand, 37, 56
 Lalumandiere, Francois, *dit* La Fleur, 62, 63, 81, 85, 92
 Lalumandiere, Jean Baptiste, 92
 Lalumandiere, Joseph, 92
 Lalumandiere, Louise, 85, 92
 Lalumandiere, Marianne, 92
 Lambert, Marie, 111
 La Mirande, Joseph, 83
 La Mothe, Jacques, 102
 Lamy, Françoise, 49, 81, 89
 Lamy, Isaac, 49
 Lamy, Joseph, 22, 49, 79, 80, 81, 89

Lamy, Joseph Marie, 79
 Landreville, Angélique, 80
 Langevin, Jean Baptiste, 108
 Langlois, Alexandre, 108, 111
 Langlois, Antoine, 113
 Langlois, Antoinette, 93, 114
 Langlois, Augustin, 81, 92, 113, 114
 Langlois, Étienne, 93, 113, 114
 Langlois, François, 114
 Langlois, Gerard, 114
 Langlois, Germain, 113
 Langlois, Jeanne, 110
 Langlois, Louis, 113, 114
 Langlois, Louise, 113
 Langlois, Marie, 114
 Langlois, Marie Joachim, 114
 Langlois, Marie Joseph, 103, 113
 Langlois, Marie Louise, 81, 82, 84, 90, 92
 Langlois, Perrine, 114
 Langlois, St. Thérèse (Langloiserie), 19, 101, 113
 La Parriere, Jeanne, 63, 85
 La Pierre, Jean Baptiste, 81
 Lapierre, Joseph, 98
 La Plume, François, 33
 La Pointe, Louise, 82, 87, 92
 La Pointe, Marie, 83
 La Porte, Angélique, 85
 Larche, Augustin (L'archeveque), 104
 Larche, Charles, 104
 Larche, François, 104, 105
 Larche, Hélène, 105
 Larche, Jacques, 86
 Larche, Jean, 104, 105
 Larche, Joseph, 104, 105
 Larche, Louis, 104
 Larche, Marie Thérèse, 86
 L'Argilier, Jacques, *dit* Le Castor, 13
 La Riviere, Jean Baptiste, 62
 La Roche, Joseph, 83
 La Roche, Marie, 83
 La Salle, 10, 13
 Lasauvetot, Pierre, *dit* St. Pierre, *see* La Chauvetot, 109
 Lasonde, habitation of, 101, 115
 La Source, Antoine, 22, 85, 89
 La Source, Dominique, 22, 80, 84, 89, 119
 La Source, François, 90
 La Source, Jean Baptiste Thaumur, 22, 37, 59, 80, 83, 84, 85, 89, 90, 91, 119
 La Source, Marie Louise, 22, 83, 89
 La Vallée, Louis, 65
 La Vigne, P., 49, 97
 Laville, Thomas, 105
 Laviolette, Henri, 15
 Laviolette, Jacques, 15
 Laviolette, Jean Colon, 15
 Laviolette, Michael, 15
 Law, John, 16
 Leber, Anne, 96
 Le Boulanger, Marie Renée, 95
 Lecompte, Angélique, 110
 Lecompte, Jacques, 110
 Lecompte, Jean Baptiste, 61
 Lecompte, Marie Louise, 110
 Le Cour, Joseph, 81
 Le Cour, Michael, 65
 Ledoux, 120
 Leduc, Élisabeth, 118
 Leduc, Françoise, 100, 106
 Leduc, Joseph, 100
 Legras, Charles Dominique, 22, 114
 Legras, Daniel, 22, 81, 114
 Legras, Jean, 22
 Legras, Jean Baptiste, 22, 81, 114
 Legras, Jean Ignace, 115
 Legras, Jeanne, 115
 Legras, Marie Jeanne, 86
 Legras, Michel, 115
 Legras, Widow, 114, 115
 Lejeune, Catherine, 112
 Lejeune, Claude, 112
 Lejeune, Joseph, 105, 112
 Lejeune, Marie Françoise, 112
 Lejeune, Michel, *dit* Le Gaspare, 99, 105, 112
 Le Kintrut, Louise, 101, 102
 Le Mai, Marianne, 82, 92
 Le Mieux, Claude, 85
 Le Mieux, François, 85
 Le Moine, Marianne, 63, 85
 Le Moine, René Alexandre, Sieur Despins, 83, 95
 Le Moine, Silvie (or Marné), 115
 Leonard, 81
 Lepage, Adel, 29
 Lepage, Margaret, 116
 Le Roy, Marie Joseph, 81
 L'Esperance, Joseph, 58
 Letellier, Lenore, 105
 Levasseur, Louis, *dit* Despagne, 114
 Leveille, Françoise, 92
 Lever, Marie, 102
 Le Vert, Marie Françoise, 33
 Levremond, Widow, 107
 Liberville, Joseph, *dit* Joyeuse, 82, 84, 92, 94, 113
 Limbé, Pierre, 58, 59
 Locat, Pierre, 118
 Locat, René, 118

Loisel, Agnes, 110
 Loisel, Antoine, 110
 Loisel, Jean Baptiste, 110
 Loisel, Joseph, 80, 110
 Loisel, Marie Barbe, 110
 Loisel, Marie Thérèse, 109
 Loisel, Nicolas, 110
 Loisel, Toussaint, 80, 91, 110
 Longval, Louis, 83
 Lorrain, Joseph, 80
 Lorrain, Marie, 80
 Louce, Étienne, 61
 Lugre, Marie, 80
 Macarty, Commandant, 17, 19, 23, 27, 29, 39, 56, 57, 63, 70, 74, 84, 86, 107, 108
 Macarty, Eulalie, 29
 Mailhot, Suzanne, 87
 Maillet, Marie Genevieve, 114
 Mallet, 67
 Mallet, Catherine, 63, 82, 92, 112
 Mallet, Françoise, 81
 Mallet, Genevieve, 22
 Mallet, Jean Baptiste, 19
 Mallet, Marianne, 81
 Mallet, Pierre, 81
 Manuel, Jean, 63, 85
 Manuel, Madelcine, 63, 85
 Marain, 66
 Marc, Agnes, 82
 Marchand, Charlotte, 83, 85, 94, 112
 Marcheteau, Albert, *dit* Desnoyer, 99
 Marcheteau, Alexandre, 100
 Marcheteau, Antoine, 118
 Marcheteau, Élisabeth, 100, 106, 118
 Marcheteau, Jeanne, 118
 Marcheteau, Joseph, 100, 106, 118
 Marcheteau, Louis, 62, 100, 106, 118
 Marcheteau, Marie Joseph, 118
 Marcheteau, Pierre, 100, 118
 Marcheteau, Véronique, 100
 Marcon, Genevieve, 82
 Marechal, Antoine, 118
 Marechal, François, 119
 Marechal, Jacques, 119
 Marechal, Jean, 118
 Marechal, Jean Baptiste, 119
 Marechal, Joseph, 119
 Marechal, Marie Catherine, 119
 Marechal, Marie Élisabeth, 119
 Marechal, Marie Joseph, 118
 Marechal, Marie Susanne, 119
 Marechal, Nicolas, 62, 118
 Marechal, Pierre Claude, *dit* La Bonte, 36, 52, 63, 115
 Marest, Father Gabriel, 10, 12, 13
 Marin, Louis, Sieur de la Marque, 96, 99, 117
 Marinau, Jacques, 62
 Marquette, Father, 13
 Marquis, Jean Baptiste, 61, 62, 83, 88, 89, 97
 Marquis, Marie Louise, 88, 89, 97
 Martigny, Élisabeth, 103
 Martigny, Hélène, 103
 Martigny, Jacques le Moine, Sieur de, 103
 Martigny, Jean Baptiste, 103, 104
 Martigny, Marie, 103
 Martin, Antoine, 119
 Martin, Gabriel, 116
 Martin, Jacques, 116
 Martin, Simone Marie, 61, 80, 116, 118
 Masse, Françoise, 106
 Matis, Jerome, 107
 Maurice, Jean Baptiste, 84, 88
 Maurin, Antoine, 85, 94
 Mean, Marie, 81
 Mean, Sieur, 17
 Melet, Pierre, 95
 Melique, François, 85, 88
 Melique, Lt., 79
 Melique, Pierre, 33
 Melot, Françoise, 85, 88
 Melot, Pierre, 88
 Menard, Pierre, 31, 37
 Meneux, Françoise, 94
 Mercier, 62
 Mercier, Dorothée, 15, 36, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85, 92, 96, 116
 Mercier, François, 116
 Mercier, Guillaume, *dit* Toulouse, 112, 116
 Mercier, Jacques, 87
 Mercier, Jean Baptiste, 73, 79, 108, 111, 116
 Mercier, Jean François, 116
 Mercier, Joseph Marie, 62, 82, 87
 Mercier, Louis, 82, 87
 Mercier, Madeleine, 73, 111
 Mercier, Marie, 111
 Mercier, Marie Catherine, 87
 Mercier, Marie Jeanne, 109, 112
 Mercier, Pierre Joseph, 87
 Mercier, Renée, 15
 Meseray, Madeleine, 111
 Messager, Pierre, 50, 66, 114
 Metivier, 61
 Metivier, Henry, 80, 106
 Metivier, Louis, 60, 106, 107
 Metivier, Marianne, 106
 Metivier, Nicolas, 106

Metivier, Philippe, 106
 Metote, Abraham, 111
 Metote, Félix, 111
 Metote, Gabriel, 111
 Metote, Jacques, 111
 Metote, Joseph, 111
 Metote, Marie Catherine, 111
 Metote, René, 111
 Meunier, Dame, 118
 Mezeret, Marie Jeanne, 102
 Michael, 99
 Michael, Jacques, *dit Dufrene*, 19, 82, 83, 98, 101
 Michael, Marie Françoise, 83, 98
 Michael, Marie Louise, 19, 82, 101
 Michelle, Élizabeth, 29
 Midan, Anne, 79
 Migneret, Marianne (also Milleret), 15, 80, 83, 87, 97
 Migneret, Nicolas, 15
 Migneret, Pierre, 15, 80
 Milot, Felicité, 92, 97
 Milot, François, 92, 97
 Milot, Jean Baptiste, 92, 97
 Milot, Marianne, 92, 97
 Milot, Marie Thérèse, 92, 97
 Milot, Pélagie, 92, 97
 Milleret, 15
 Millet, Jacques, 61
 Millet, Marie, 84, 119
 Millet, Marie Françoise, 98, 100
 Millet, Nicolas, 58, 98
 Millot, Jean Baptiste, 82, 85
 Millot, Marianne, 82
 Millot, Pélagie, 85
 Mimbret, Company of, 107
 Missouri, Françoise, 99
 Moisan, Marie Barbe, 118
 Monbrun, Jean Baptiste, 102
 Monbrun, Pierre, 95
 Monbrun, Thérèse, 95
 Montardy, Pierre, 105
 Montménier, Barbe, 29, 62, 108, 111
 Moran, Marie Anne, 81, 92
 Moreau, Alphonse, 116
 Moreau, Ambrose, *dit Sansregret*, 113
 Moreau, Charlotte, 84
 Moreau, François, 119
 Moreau, Joseph Valentin, 61, 62
 Moreau, Louise Eustache, 36, 62
 Moreau, Louise Françoise, 62
 Moreau, Valentin, 84
 Morin, Baptiste, 114
 Morin, Jean Baptiste, 114
 Mounton, Philippe, 66
 Nantais, 63
 Neau, Charles, 106
 Neau, François, 106
 Nepveu, Céleste Thérèse, 43, 79, 95, 101
 Nepveu, Élizabeth, 43
 Nepveu, Jacques, 43
 Nepveu, Jean Michael, 43
 Nepveu, Marie Catherine, 43
 Nepveu, Susanne, 43
 Neupart, Jean Baptiste, 66
 Nicole, Étienne, 84
 Noire, Catherine Barbe, 107
 Noire, Nicolas, 107
 Noizet-L'abbe, Catherine, 116
 Normand, Louis, *dit Labrière*, 36, 61, 62, 82, 97
 Olivier, Dorothée, 82, 87
 Olivier, Élisabeth, 98
 Olivier, Jean, 97
 Olivier, Jean Baptiste, 82, 84, 87, 97
 Olivier, Marie, 58
 Olivier, Marthe, 87, 97
 Olivier, Nicolas, 98
 Olivier, Rosalie, 98
 Ollivier, J., 79
 Outellas, Philippe, 91
 Outlas, Françoise, 66, 84
 Padoka, Marie Anne, 119
 Pagé, Hélène, 98
 Page, Jean Baptiste, 98
 Page, Louis, 98
 Page, Prisque, 83, 91, 98
 Pancrasse, 117
 Pancrasse, François, 99
 Pancrasse, Marie Thérèse, 117, 118
 Parant, Pierre, 99
 Parant, Thérèse, 99
 Paré, Jean, 30
 Paule, Jeanne, 113
 Payet, Louise, *dit St. Amour*, 87, 117
 Pellé, Antoine, *dit La Plume*, 61
 Peltier, Antoine, *dit Antaya*, 60, 85, 94, 119
 Peltier, Joseph, 84, 91, 94
 Peltier, Josephe, 84, 91, 94
 Peltier, Marie Agnes, 94
 Peltier, Marie Charlotte, 94
 Peltier, Marie Madeleine, 94
 Peltier, Michel, 94
 Peltier, Pélagie, 85, 94
 Pencaut, 12, 13, 25
 Pepin, Charles, 62, 112
 Perault, Pierre, 112

Perico, Pierre, 60
 Perier, Governor, 18, 73, 75
 Perillaud, André, 20
 Perrico, Laurent, *dit* Olivier, 59
 Perrin, Jean Augustin, *dit* Capucin, 117
 Perron, François, 83, 89
 Perthius, Alexis, 63
 Perthius, Angelique, 63, 83, 87, 120
 Perthius, Catherine, 63
 Perthius, Claire, 63
 Perthius, François, 63
 Perthius, Jeanne, 63, 82, 112
 Perthius, Joseph, 63
 Perthius, Louise, 63, 81, 85, 92
 Perthius, Madeleine, 63
 Perthius, Marguerite, 63, 81, 93
 Perthius, Pierre, 63, 82, 92, 112
 Peterson, Charles, 30
 Petit, Catherine, 84
 Philibot, Alexis, 104
 Philibot, Charles, 104
 Philibot, Jean, 104
 Philibot, Marguerite, 104
 Philibot, Thérèse, 104
 Philipaux, St. Joseph, 112
 Philippe, Agnes, 19, 73, 86, 104, 105, 112, 120
 Philippe, Élizabeth, 80, 102, 104
 Philippe, Étienne, 77, 96
 Philippe, Jacques, 14, 104
 Philippe, Joseph, 66
 Philippe, Josephine Marie, 81
 Philippe, Marie, 114
 Philippe, Michael, 14, 19, 66, 77, 79, 81, 102, 104
 Picard, Alexis, 83
 Picard, Marie Joseph, 103
 Picard, Philippe, 103
 Pien, Mathieu, 30
 Pierrot, Nicolas, *dit* Lasonde, 102
 Pigniol, 2nd Lt., 17
 Pilet, Angelique, *dit* Lasonde, 84, 88, 97
 Pilet, Antoine, 79, 97
 Pilet, Barbe, 82
 Pilet, Dorothée, 84, 97
 Pilet, Jean Baptiste, 97
 Pilet, Madeleine, 81, 82, 85, 92, 97
 Pilet, Marie, 84, 88
 Pilet, Marie Barbe, 44, 97
 Pilet, Marie Louise, 81, 83, 89, 97
 Pilet, Marie Marguerite, 100, 118
 Pilet, Pierre, 36, 58, 79, 81, 82, 84, 88, 89, 92, 97, 115
 Pincaux, Maturin, 105
 Pittman, 25, 31, 37
 l'ivare, Perrine, 79
 Pivet, Perrine, 15
 Place, Jean Baptiste, 20
 Place, Michel, 83, 120
 Placeit, 119
 Plumereau, Catherine, 117
 Potier, 73
 Potier, Alexandre, 19
 Potier, Antoinette, 120
 Potier, Catherine, 79
 Potier, Charles, 66
 Potier, Christopher, 80
 Potier, Guillaume, 66, 79
 Potier, Jacques, 61
 Potier, Jean Baptiste, 19, 37, 61, 62, 65, 72, 79, 101
 Potier, Jeanne, 61
 Potier, Joseph, 19, 61, 72
 Potier, Louis, 61
 Potier, Marc Antoine, 79
 Potier, Marguerite, 66, 79
 Potier, Marie, 66, 79
 Potier, Marie Catherine, 61, 62
 Potier, Marie Françoise, 61, 82, 91, 101
 Potier, Marie Marguerite, 66
 Potier, Thérèse, 19
 Potier, Toussaint, 61, 72, 79, 101
 Poupart, Jean, 117
 Poupart, Paul, *dit* Lafleur, 117
 Povré, Eugene, *dit* Beausoleil, 74, 84, 88
 Pratte, Jean Baptiste, 92
 Pre, Marianne, 111
 Pre, Pierre, 111
 Prévost, 73
 Primeau, Jean Baptiste, 119
 Provot, Claude, 109
 Provot, Françoise, 110
 Provot, Jean Baptiste, 110
 Provot, Joseph, 110
 Provot, Louis, 110
 Provot, Madeleine, 110
 Provot, Marianne, 109
 Provot, Nicolas, *dit* Blondin, 109, 110
 Prudhomme, Catherine, 62
 Prudhomme, Jeanne, 80, 89
 Quadrin, Michael François, 80
 Quadrin, Nicolas, *see* Cadrin, 80
 Quebedau, Joseph, *dit* Lespagniol, 105, 110
 Quebedau, Marie Françoise, 110
 Quebedau, Marie Joseph, 105
 Quesnel, Charles, 100
 Quesnel, Dominique, 61, 62
 Quesnel, Marie Louise, 83, 87
 Quesnel, Marie Madeleine, 22, 62, 79, 95, 112

Quesnel, Oliver, 62
 Quesnel, Raimond, 62, 66
 Quirigou, Felix, 106
 Rabut, Françoise, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 88, 93, 94, 95, 101
 Raget, Catherine, 104
 Renand, Marguerite, 83
 Renault, Marguerite Angelique, 93
 Renault, Philippe, 18, 30, 38, 59
 Rheaume, Alphonse Paul, 81, 83, 89, 97
 Rheaume, Élisabeth, 97
 Rheaume, Simon, 81, 97
 Richard, Daniel, 94
 Richard, Jean Baptiste, 36, 59, 84, 92, 94, 113
 Richard, Louis, 119
 Richer, Marie Françoise, 117
 Ridé, Jean Baptiste, *dit Beauisseron*, 33
 Ridé, Louis, 100
 Rivard, Genevieve, 85, 87, 102
 Rivard, Marie Françoise, 22, 49, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 89, 91, 119
 Riviere, Françoise, 83
 Riviere, Marie Thérèse, 119
 Rivierre, Antoine, 62
 Robert, Louis, 111
 Robert, Madeleine, 106, 118
 Robillard, Madeleine, 62
 Rogué, Charles, *dit Desvertus*, 37
 Roland, Antoine, 62
 Rolet, Lucie, 105
 Rollet, Domitilla, 100, 106
 Rollet, François Navier, 82, 83, 89, 106
 Rollet, Jacques, 106
 Rondeau, Marianne Claude, 109
 Rotisseur, Antoine, 116
 Rouensa, Chief of the Kaskaskia Indians, 13, 14
 Rouensa, Marie, 13, 14, 19, 33, 75, 81, 102, 103, 104
 Roussel, François, 107
 Roussel, Jean François, 107
 Routier, Charles Amador, 118
 Routier, Genevieve, 118
 Routier, Jean Baptiste, 118
 Roy, Alexis, 117
 Roy, Élizabeth, 73, 105
 Roy, François, 117
 Roy, François Ange, 117
 Roy, Ignace, 118
 Roy, Jacques, 85, 89
 Roy, Jean, 73, 117
 Roy, Jean Baptiste, 117
 Roy, Jean Pierre, 117
 Roy, Joseph, 63, 117
 Roy, Marianne, 22, 85, 89
 Roy, Marie Louise, 82, 94
 Roy, Marie Thérèse, 117
 Roy, Monsieur, 7
 Roy, Pierre, 117
 Roy, René, 19, 73, 105
 Royer, Marianne, 94
 Royer, Marie, 90
 Ruelle, 100
 St. Ange, Élisabeth, 99, 100, 102
 St. Ange, Louis de Bellerive, 8, 17, 99
 St. Ange, Pierre Groston, 17, 35, 81, 87, 99
 St. Ange, Robert, Sieur de, 98, 100
 St. Ange, Sieur, 8, 18, 49, 73, 105
 St. Ange, Widow, 98
 St. Cyr, Hyacinthe, 103, 104
 St. Germain, Thomas Alexandre, *dit La-ville*, 105
 St. Loren, 103
 St. Louis, Marguerite, 84
 St. Michel, Jeanne Messier, 103
 St. Michel, Marguerite, 80, 102
 St. Pierre, 66
 St. Pierre, Marie Anne, 29
 St. Pierre, Renée, 83
 Ste. Thérèses Langloiserie, 101
 St. Yves, Augustin, 82, 91, 118
 St. Yves, Thérèse, 91
 Salmon, M., 25, 27
 Salvayre, Antoine, Sieur de Frémont, 109
 Sansoucy, Antoine, 80, 82, 93
 Sansoucy, Françoise, 80, 82, 93
 Santorum, Françoise, 117
 Santorum, Pierre, 117
 Saucier, François, 8, 29, 109
 Saucier, Henri, 29, 108
 Saucier, Jean Baptiste, 29, 59, 108
 Saucier, Marie Jeanne Fontaille, 102
 Saucier, Mathieu, 109
 Savary, Gabrielle, 29, 108, 109
 Scionaux, Françoise, 85
 Scionaux, Louis, 85
 Sébastien, François, *dit Le Suisse, dit Canarie*, 30, 114
 Seeloff, Conrad, *dit Caulet*, 63, 85
 Segnier, Marguerite, 80
 Seguin, Françoise, 85
 Seguin, Joseph, *dit Laderoute*, 85, 91
 Seguin, Jacques, *dit Laderoute*, 83, 92, 93, 96
 Seguin, Jean Baptiste, 96
 Seguin, Louis, 96
 Seguin, Marianne, 85, 92
 Seguin, Marie Anne, 85, 92

Seguin, Marie Françoise, 85
 Sernin, Joseph, 81
 Sibilor, Señor, 104
 Simon, Sieur, 17
 Snyder, Dr. John F., 20
 Sorel, Antoine, *dit* Dauphiné, 105
 Sorel, Élisabeth de St. Romain, 98, 100,
 103, 105
 Sorel, Marie Joseph, 105
 Souhait, Anne, 79
 Souhait, Charles, 79
 Stirling, Capt. Thomas, 8

 Tabreau, Catherine, 119
 Taillon, Jean Baptiste, 99
 Taillon, Joseph, 99
 Taillon, Michel, 108
 Tarascon, Charles, 113
 Tartaran, Father, 21, 25, 27, 75, 98
 Tetio, Marie, 63, 79, 82, 104, 112, 120
 Texier, Antoine, 97
 Texier, Catherine, 35, 87, 99
 Texier, Jean Baptiste, 15, 80, 83, 87, 97
 Texier, Jeanne, 107
 Texier, Joseph, 87
 Texier, Louis, 35, 87, 99, 112
 Texier, Marguerite, 29, 50, 81, 89
 Texier, Marie, 110
 Texier, Marie Louise, 83, 97
 Texier, Marie Rose, 35, 81, 82, 87, 99
 Texier, Paul, 35
 Texier, Petronilla, 81, 89
 Texier, Pierre, 83, 97, 98
 Texier, Symphorosa, 35
 Thuillier, Élisabeth, *dit* Devegnois, 83
 Thuillier, Françoise, 82, 92
 Thuillier, Jacques, 85, 92
 Thuillier, Jean Baptiste, 92
 Thuillier, Marie Rose, 83, 92, 96
 Thuillier, Nicolas, 36, 82, 83, 84, 85, 92,
 96, 116
 Thuillier, Widow, 96
 Tiberge, Louis Alexandre, 93
 Tirard, Louis, *dit* St. Jean, 84
 Tonti, Antoine, 15, 17, 49
 Trotier, Marie Jeanne, 95
 Trottier, Marguerite, 109
 Trudeau, François, 120
 Trudeau, Marie Thérèse, 75, 76, 117, 120
 Trudeau, Sieur, 76
 Truto, Louis, 120
 Turpin, Agnes, 90

 Turpin, Dorothée, 80, 83, 85, 90, 97
 Turpin, Élizabeth, 79, 90, 91, 95
 Turpin, Jean Baptiste, 111
 Turpin, Jeanne, 90
 Turpin, Joseph, 83, 97
 Turpin, Louis, 22, 25, 37, 44, 58, 61, 79,
 80, 83, 85, 90, 91, 97, 103
 Turpin, Louise Françoise, 90
 Turpin, Marie, 90, 111
 Turpin, Marie Jeanne, 111
 Turpin, Marie Joseph, 83, 90, 97
 Turpin, Marie Madeleine, 83, 97
 Turpin, Pierre Alexandre, 90
 Turpin, Thérèse, 85, 90

 Urbain, Marie Anne, 62

 Valentin, Father, 101
 Vallé, Charles, 82, 86
 Vallé, François, 37, 82, 86, 87, 89, 94
 Vallé, Jean Baptiste, 86
 Vallé, Joseph, 86
 Vallé, Marie Louise, 86
 Varenne, company of, 88
 Vaudreuil, 29, 57, 74, 107, 108
 Vaudry, Jacques, 111
 Vaudry, Pierre, 111
 Vaudry, Toussaint, 111
 Vernay, Louis, 29
 Veronneau, Denis, 90
 Verrier, Pierre, 80
 Verroneau, Jean Baptiste, 90, 119
 Verroneau, Marie, 90, 119
 Vien, Marie Françoise, 99
 Vien, Michael, 33, 102
 Villars, Louis du Breuil, 86
 Vineennes, François Margane, Sieur de,
 77, 91, 96
 Vincennes, Marie, 60, 77, 83, 91
 Vivareinme, François, 29
 Vivareinme, Jean Baptiste, 29, 109
 Vivareinme, Marie Françoise, 29, 109
 Vivareinme, Pierre, 29, 109
 Vivier, Father, 54, 56, 57

 Watrin, Father, 27
 Watrin, Philibert, 86

 Yevremon, Étienne, 107

 Zébedee, 12

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